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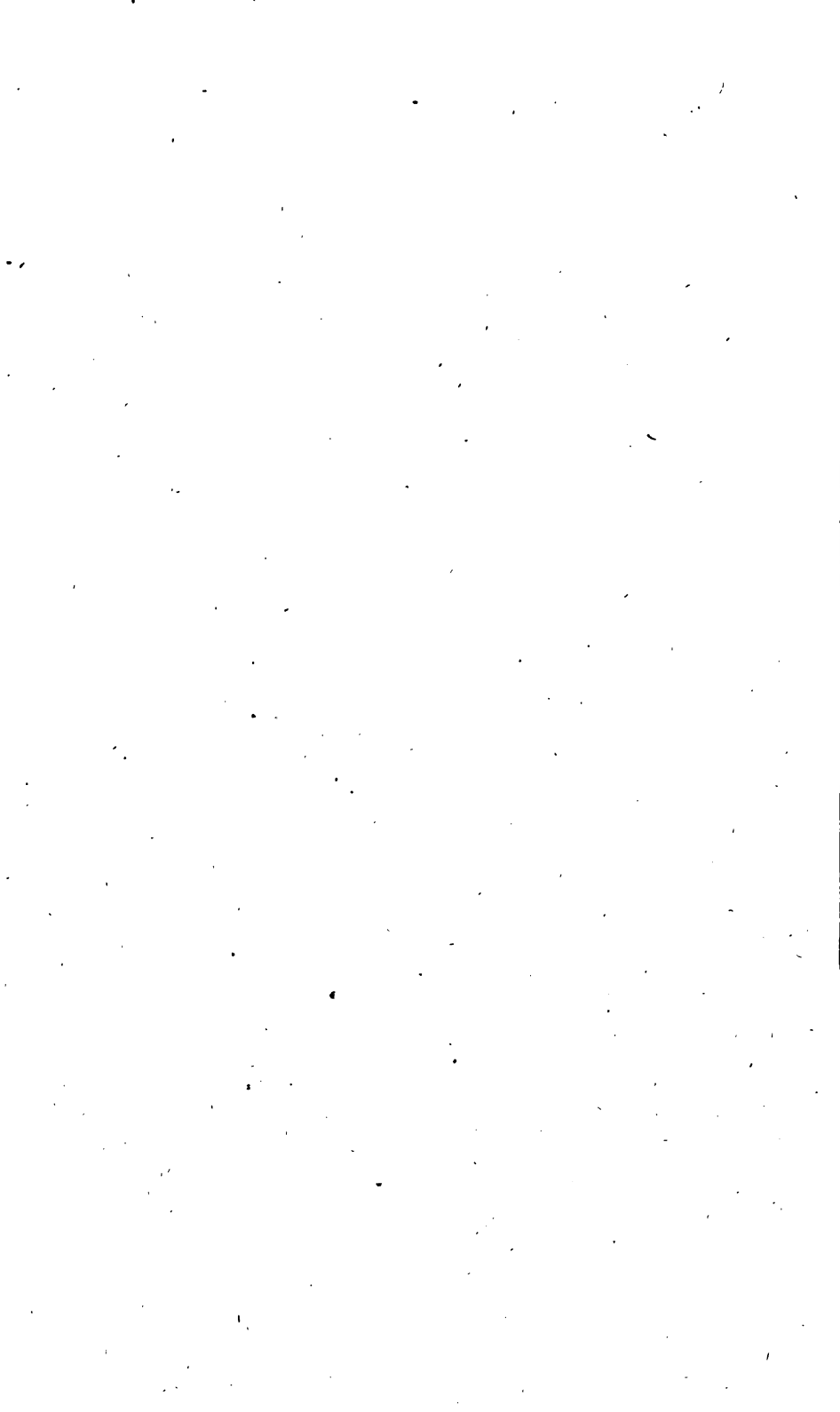


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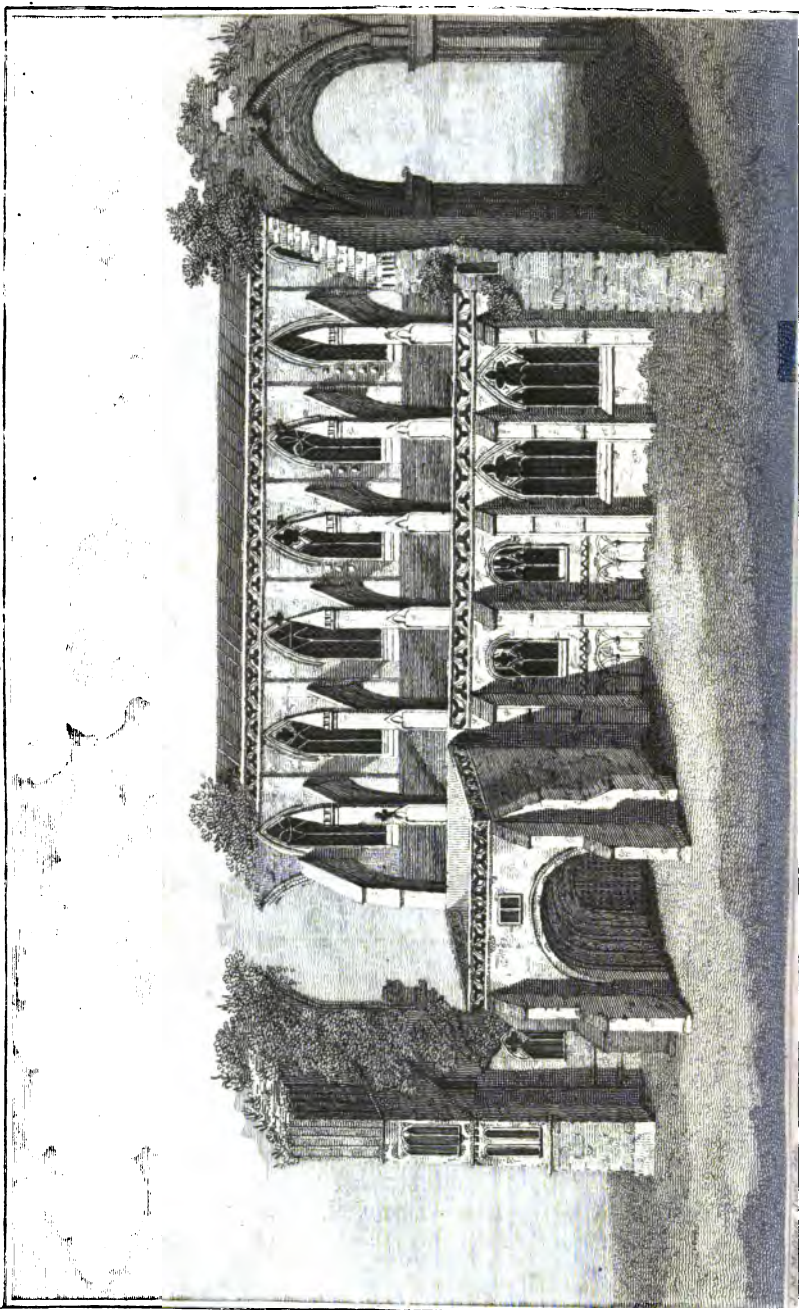
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= MOFFET
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1981-1982

A front view of Malmesbury Abbey—from an eminence.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
TOWN OF MALMESBURY,
AND OF ITS
ANCIENT ABBEY,

The Remains of which magnificent Edifice are still used as a Parish Church;

TOGETHER WITH
MEMOIRS OF EMINENT NATIVES,
AND OTHER
DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS

WHO WERE CONNECTED WITH THE ABBEY OR TOWN,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX.

(EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.)

BY THE LATE -

Rev. J. M. MOFFATT, of Malmesbury.

“ Denique non lapides quoque vinci cernis ab ævo?
“ Non altas turres ruere, et putrescere saxa?
“ Non delubra Deûm, simulacraque fessa fatisci?
“ Nec sanctum Numen Fati protollere fines
“ Posse, neque adversus Naturæ fœdera niti?
“ Denique non monimenta virûm delapsa videmus
“ Cedere proporrò, subitoque senescere casu?”

LUCRETIVS.

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1805.

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PREFACE.

Many years have now elapsed since the author of the ensuing work began to collect materials for completing it. He would have been glad to have seen the undertaking executed by some abler hand; but as such an occurrence seemed improbable, he at length, in compliance with the solicitations of friends, undertook the task himself. The original design included merely the history of the Abbey of Malmesbury, and an account of the present state of that interesting fragment of Gothic architecture. But in the prosecution of this intention, so many circumstances were discovered, which served to elucidate the civil history of Malmesbury, that it at length was thought advisable to include in the proposed publication every interesting occurrence that could be collected relating to the abbey and town. How far this object has been attained, must be left to the decision of the candid reader.

Every history whether general or local, must be in a great measure a compilation. Judgment in the selection, and accuracy in the arrangement of his materials, can alone be expected from the author of a work like the present. The reader will perceive from the numerous references at the

foot of almost every page, that a considerable number of authors, both antient and modern, have been consulted by the compiler. Some acknowledgment is due for the liberties we have taken with the works of contemporary writers. The editor, therefore, hopes that his most sincere thanks for the advantages which have been derived from their respective labours, will be accepted.—But more extensive obligations are owing to those friends who have contributed to the success of our undertaking, by the loan of charters, title deeds, old manuscripts, and printed books, and by affording some valuable information relative to particular subjects, which could not otherwise have been obtained.—To the Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, we are very highly indebted, not only for the liberal permission to make use of the copious collections relative to monastic history and manners, contained in his publications; but also for a number of curious extracts from scarce printed books and old manuscripts, which he presented to the author.—Mr. J. Britton, who has favoured the public with some ingenious works relating to British Topography, supplied the author with some useful information.—In the biographical department of the history of Malmesbury, many important occurrences are inserted, which were communicated by the Rev. Dr. Toulmin, author of the History of Taunton.—In relating the history of the borough of Malmesbury, material assistance has been derived from a manuscript
account

account of the borough of Malmesbury, drawn up by Mr. Caley, of the Augmentation-Office.—From Mr. R. B. Robins, of Malmesbury, many copies of charters and other valuable papers have been received, from which great assistance has been derived.—Mr. John Hanks, deputy-steward of the borough, permitted the author to make use of a manuscript volume, consisting of extracts from the works of Leland, Camden, Hearne, &c. it also contained a copy of a little tract entitled the Antiquities of Malmesbury, drawn up by the late Dr. Mapson, of Tetbury, but never published.—To the Rev. G. Bissett, and the Rev. Dr. Nicholls, the acknowledgments of the editor are due, for their civility in allowing him to examine the parish registers of Malmesbury and Westport.—Several persons who assisted the author with the loan of books and other communications, are requested to accept this general acknowledgment of their favours.

Having now in some measure paid his literary debts, the editor wishes to add a few cursory remarks on the nature and design of this work, and the circumstances attending its publication.

It must be acknowledged that local or provincial history, is by no means of equal importance with what is called general history; but the former on that account should not be undervalued, as it serves as a proper introduction to the latter.—The antiquity of the abbey and borough of Malmesbury, their importance in antient times, the national

national events in which the inhabitants of the town have had some concern, and the celebrity of those literary and political characters, who have been connected with it, are circumstances which render the History of Malmesbury sufficiently interesting to attract the attention of the general reader.—To this we may add that though several antiquarian writers, have drawn together some imperfect notices concerning the ancient state of the monastery, and others still more slight accounts of the town in works relating to general topography, yet Malmesbury has never before, been the subject of a distinct publication. It is also worthy of remark, that some curious particulars have been brought forward in consequence of our researches, which in a few years, would probably have been lost for ever, for want of being recorded.

On all these accounts, Malmesbury must be allowed to be a proper subject for a local history.

In undertaking a work relating chiefly to antiquarian subjects, the author was well aware that he entered on a novel study; and he would not perhaps have made the hazardous attempt had he not been previously assured of receiving important assistance. He was ready to believe that patient research and industrious accuracy, might supply the place of more splendid abilities. Candour and impartiality are indispensably necessary, in a work of this kind; and it is hoped that if any passage should occur in these pages, which may be thought
to

to offend against either, it will be attributed to mistake or inattention, and not to design.

It will be proper here to give some account of the circumstances which attended the publication of this work; and of the concern which the editor had in the preparation of it for the press, and in the subsequent conduct of the undertaking.

The materials from whence the history of Malmesbury was compiled, were collected many years since by the editor. Much additional information was received from literary friends, on the publication of the proposals for printing the history: and the researches of the author brought to light many curious and interesting occurrences, which contribute to give value to the work.

The plan of the intended publication was laid down, the whole of the materials arranged for the press, and the three first sections, with a part of the fourth printed off, when the author was attacked by a complaint which prevented him from proceeding in his design. This attack in the course of a few months, proved fatal; and the task of conducting the remainder of this work through the press, fell to the share of the editor. This undertaking was attended with greater difficulty than what was at first apprehended. On examining the author's manuscripts, it appeared they were written chiefly in short hand; and it became indispensably necessary that nearly the whole should be transcribed. In doing this some
tirfling

trifling errors were corrected, and additional facts and observations occasionally introduced.

It must not be omitted that the life of Hobbes, contained in the last section, was drawn up by the editor.

The Appendix belonging to this work, is much less extensive than the author intended to have made it; but as all the original and important matter designed for it will probably be presented to the public under another form, it is hoped that the reader will not disapprove of the curtailment that has taken place. A more particular account of the origin, nature, and design of the intended publication, may be seen in the following advertisement.

The editor is unwilling to conclude this prefatory address without observing, that this work would doubtless have been more advantageously executed, if the author had lived to complete and publish it himself. However, notwithstanding its acknowledged defects, it is presumed that the History of Malmesbury will not be found incapable of affording information, or amusement to those who may be induced to peruse it.

*Bridport,
August 14, 1805.*

J. M. MOFFATT.

Address to the Public.

When proposals were first issued for publishing the History of Malmesbury, it was imagined that the whole might have been included within the compass of a moderate octavo volume. But since that time, a considerable number of additional communications have been received, so that the Editor found it impossible to complete the work on the original plan, without enlarging the volume so considerably as to render the proposed price inadequate to the expences of printing, &c.—At length he determined to leave out several copies and abstracts of monastic and municipal charters, and other old records, which were designed for insertion in the Appendix. To many readers these papers would have been very uninteresting; there are others however, who might wish to be possessed of them as they are almost all hitherto unpublished, or only to be found in large or expensive works. It is therefore proposed to publish a Supplement to the History of Malmesbury, containing not only all those original papers which were designed for the Appendix, but many others of equal importance; comprising all the principal charters granted

granted to the abbot and convent, and to the corporation, to which will be added a chronological table of the events mentioned in the history.—This supplemental volume to be printed on a similar paper with the present—Price 4s. As the editor cannot conveniently enter on this undertaking without being previously assured of the sale of a sufficient number of copies to defray the expence of printing, he is under the necessity of adding, that as soon as the names of two hundred and fifty subscribers are received, the Supplement shall be sent to the press. Half of the money to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the other half on the delivery of the book. Subscriptions will be received by F. and C. Rivingtons, and T. Conder, London; and J. G. Goodwyn, Printer, &c. Tetbury.

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HISTORY

OF

MALMESBURY.

SECTION I.

Of the Town—Its Antiquity—Military Events.

DIFFERENT derivations have been given to the word Malmesbury. A learned writer observes, "That the Greeks notified the places of their battles and victories by adding the term *νικη* (victory)—whence Thessalonica, &c. The ancient Britons did the same, by adding the British word *mais* (battle)—whence Malmaisbury,"* &c. Leland says, This place received its name from one Meyldulph, a Scotch monk, who settled here, and built a monastery.† Accordingly, it is called by Bede *Meyldulphi Urbs*,‡ (Meyldulph's city)

* Rees's edit. of Chambers's Cyclopæd. vol. i. under the term **BATTLE**. But, it is to be noticed, that the name Malmesbury was not applied to this place till after the commencement of the Saxon heptarchy.

† Leland's Collect. vol. i. p. 301.

‡ Bed. Histor. Eccles. lib. v. c. 18:

which appellation, in course of time, was changed into Malmesbury. Rapin derives the name in part from Aldhelm, the immediate successor of Meyldulph in the monastery. He imagines, that it is a contraction of Meyldulph-Aldhelm-bury, *i. e.* the tomb of Meyldulph and Aldhelm.* This conjecture is somewhat probable, as in the Saxon annals the town is called Mealdelmesbyrig.†

In regard to the high antiquity of this place, I shall cite a few passages from different authors. Leland tells us, that a castle was erected here about one hundred and seventy-four years after the founding of the city Rome;‡ or between four and five centuries before the birth of Christ. The author of “Eulogium Historiarum§” (as quoted by Camden)|| reports, that Malmesbury, and the castles of Lacock and Tetbury, were built by Dunwallo Mulmutius, king of the Britons, and by him Malmesbury was called *Caer Bladon*; that when the town had been destroyed by wars, there arose out of its ruins a castle, as historians record; that at the same time, the Saxon petty kings had their palace at Caerdurburge, (Brokenborough) at pre-

* Rapin vol. i. p. 60. † Camden's Britan. (Gibson's edit.) p. 196.

‡ Castellum fuit constructum post conditionem urbis Romæ, an. 174. Leland's Collect. vol. i. part 2. p. 304. Auxil. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS.

§ It seems, that work was composed by a monk, of Malmesbury. Eulogium historiarum in libros quinque divisum, a monacho quodam non Cantuariensi (propt in catal. MSS. Cotton. p. 65.) sed Malmesburiensi, conscriptum.—Leland Collect. vol. i. p. 301. &c. Tanner's Notit. Monast. p. 391.

|| Camden's Britan. p. 196.

sent a village, about a mile from Malmesbury. Sammes also informs us, "That Dunwallo is supposed to have built Malmesbury, and two neighbouring castles Lacock and Tetbury, and Devizes, formerly called *Vies*. Malmesbury was named by him *Caer Bladon*, though upon what account authors make no mention."* But, as it appears, that the ancient name of the river, which flows by this place, was *Bladon*,† it is probable, that the river might have given name to the town;‡ and that, when the town no longer existed, the river still retained the same appellation.

To the name *Caer Bladon* succeeded that of *Ingelburne*,§ *Maildulfburgh*,|| *Aldelmesbirig*,¶ *Meildunum*.** These, and similar names, have been applied to the town of Malmesbury.††

Records are wanting, in regard to the secular affairs of Malmesbury, during the existence of the Saxon heptarchy.

The first event of moment that occurs in history, respects an assault made on this place by the Danes, who are said to have burnt it.‡‡ A disaster which happened probably in the seventh year of Alfred the Great, when the Danes entered the county of Wilts, plundering and de-

A. D.
878

* Sam. Britan. Antiq. illust. p. 172.

† Will. of Malmesb. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Appendix Note I. § Camden p. 196. || Sam. Ibid.

¶ Bed. verf. Saxon. et Camden. ** Gul. Malmesb.

†† Appendix Note II.

‡‡ Spelman vita Alfredi p. 129. Annl. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS.

stroying wherever they came.* The town was afterwards consumed by another fire, and restored by his son Edward.†

In the reign of Athelstan, the inhabitants of Malmesbury assisted the king in his conflict with the Danes, and appear to have triumphed over the enemy. The special marks of royal favour, conferred on them for their valour, are noticed in the

A. D. 939 charter, granted to the town by that prince. According to Leland, the battle was fought at Sodbury Hill, fourteen miles from Malmesbury.”‡ But Mr. Hobbes, speaking of Athelstan, as rewarding the people for their bravery in an encounter between them and the Danes, in which much Danish blood was spilt, considers the fight as having taken place near the town.§ To reconcile these writers, we may suppose, that the men of Malmesbury displayed their courage, in two engagements with the Danes.

During the reigns of Athelstan's immediate successors, we do not find any political transactions of moment, connected with this part of our history. But, under the unsettled government of King Stephen, Malmesbury became the theatre of

* Goldsmith. Andrews.

† Spelman. Ibid.

‡ “It appeareth by record in Malmesbury, that Malmesbury was rewarded for service done in battayle afore the conquest at Sodbury-hill.” Lel. Itin. vol. vii. p. 96.

§ *Praemia virtutis populo dedit ille,* propinquos
Sanguine Danorum quos madefecit agros.*

Thom. Hob. Malmesbur. vit. author. scip. p. 1.

contests between that monarch and his turbulent barons, and between him and his competitor Henry of Anjou, grandson of our Henry I. Previous to the accession of Stephen to the throne, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, an ambitious prelate, had taken to himself the custody of Malmesbury Abbey. Whilst it was in his hands, he fortified the town with walls and a castle. Camden informs us, "That he erected, both in this place and at Salisbury, structures for cost very chargeable, and for shew very beautiful. The stones were set in such exact order, that the joints could not be seen."* Whilst Roger was engaged in building this castle of Malmesbury, he had a dispute with the king, in consequence of his refusing to submit to his decision of a difference between the bishop, and Alan of Bretagne, Earl of Richmond. They proceeded to extremities, and both Roger and his nephew, the Bishop of Lincoln, were made prisoners by Stephen, who also laid siege to the castle of Devizes, where another of Roger's nephews had secured himself. He took it, though he met with an obstinate resistance. Stephen shortly after seized Roger's castles of Salisbury, Sherborne, and Malmesbury. These proceedings made the whole body of the clergy his enemies, and, had it not been for the death of the bishop, which happened about the close of this year, it is probable that the king must have submitted to him.†

* Camden's Britan, p. 87.

† William of Malmesb. Rapa-

But this unhappy monarch only got rid of one enemy to meet with others still more formidable. These were, the Empress Maud and her son Henry, who invaded England, claiming the crown, as being more nearly allied to the late king than Stephen. The people in general, as well as the clergy, having been disgusted by the behaviour of Stephen, the Empress Maud, supported by her brother the Earl of Gloucester, overcame the king, and she was seated upon the throne. The empress, however, not giving more satisfaction to the people than their former monarch, he was restored, and she was obliged to fly the kingdom.

A. D.

1152 Her son Henry of Anjou, entered England to support his claims to the crown.

“ Soon after his landing he laid siege to Malmesbury, and took it in a very short time, together with the castle, except one tower (Jordan's Tower)* which being too strong to be taken by assault, he blocked it up, with a design of reducing it by famine. Stephen, who had intelligence of his having performed this spirited action, almost as soon as he heard of his landing in England, was much alarmed. He made all the haste he could to assemble his forces, and having formed a great army, marched directly to the enemy, and offered them battle. But Henry, who was much inferior to him in numbers, kept himself close in his camp,

* JORDAN was the name of the defender of it. Vid. Gervase Cantuar. p. 1372. Auxil. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS.

which

which on one side was defended by the walls of the town, and on the other by the river Avon, continuing still the blockade of the tower of Malmesbury, and avoiding to fight, unless Stephen should attack him, which he could not do in such a posture without extreme disadvantage. That monarch nevertheless determined to risk it, for he found his army suffer much by the severity of the cold, and apprehended that delay would strengthen the Duke. He therefore advanced to the river with a resolution to pass it, though he saw the enemy drawn up in order of battle on the opposite bank. But, as he came on, there arose a wintry storm, with violent showers of hail and sleet, which drove directly in the faces of his men, who, quite benumbed with the wet and cold, lost all use of their arms, all strength and courage; while those of the Duke, having the wind in their backs, and being much sheltered, suffered little by it. The river was swelled by the rains, and rendered impassable; so that Stephen, now despairing of any success, and unable to bear the inclemency of the weather, which continued very bad, retired to London. Soon afterwards the tower of Malmesbury was surrendered.*

Towards the close of the year, by the good offices of some of the nobility on each side, A. D.
a treaty of peace was effected, in which 1153

* Littleton's Hist. of Hen. II. vol. ii. p. 224, 225. The Saxon Chronicle is silent on this event. Auxil. Collect. Wiltsh. MS.

Stephen agreed to adopt Henry as his successor to the throne of England, and thus ended a cruel war, which had raged so furiously, and brought such extreme misery on the people.*

We do not find Malmesbury mentioned as having any particular concern in the numerous and violent conflicts between the houses of York and Lancaster. It is only spoken of in history as one of the places through which Edward IV. passed, at the time he advanced to meet Queen Margaret, previous to the memorable battle of Tewkesbury,† when the Lancastrians were utterly defeated, and Margaret and her husband Henry VI. both taken, and confined in the Tower, where the latter soon ended his days.

But though Malmesbury for a long period does not appear to have been the scene of any military action, yet, amidst the civil commotions which raged in the reign of Charles I. it felt in some measure the destructive hand of war. The information we have been able to procure, relating to that event, is chiefly from the parish register and tradition.

A. D.
1643 We collect from the register that there was a royal garrison in this place.

Tradition has preserved the following anecdote of King Charles. That he passed through Malmesbury on his way to Cirencester, and spent part of a night in a building called "the Banqueting-House,"

* Appendix Note III.

† Speed, &c.

on the eastern side of the town. Having received intelligence that a detachment of the parliamentary forces was approaching, the king in the course of the night rode to Cirencester behind Prince Rupert: Cirencester had been taken by that prince not long before this occurrence.* The prince, apprized of the king's danger, hastened from thence to Malmesbury to rescue him." This anecdote partly corresponds with a passage in the life of Lord Clarendon, viz. that King Charles, in 1643, lodged at Malmesbury one night.† It also accords with what is said by other writers. About

MAR. 1643 Sir William Waller, after he had taken Chichester, made a quick movement through Wiltshire with near two thousand light horse and dragoons, and took for the parliament with little loss and trouble a small garrison of the king's at Malmesbury, before it was fortified or provided.‡

MAR. 27. 1643 Malmesbury surrendered to the Parliament.§ But in the same year, it appears

* Kimber p. 309.

† The life of the Earl of Clarendon, written by himself, in 3 vols. octavo. Vid. vol. i. p. 127. Aux. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS.---There is this disagreement between the tradition and the historian; the latter says, "The king was on his way to Bristol." But as Cirencester was in the hands of the king in the month of March, whereas Bristol was not until July in that year, (Kimber p. 309, 311.) consequently, in this particular the tradition may be deemed right. It may be, that after Bristol came into the possession of the king, he passed through Malmesbury again, and the historian may refer to the second visit.

‡ A history of the civil wars during the reign of Charles I. collected from Clarendon, Bishop Kennet, Eachard, &c. by J. Hooper, p. 254.

§ Pointer's Chron, Hist. of Engl. p. 169.

to have been retaken by the king's troops. For Hooper says, that in the fall of the year the parliament army had not the least footing in Wilts.* And in the parish register is this memorandum:—"Baptized the 6th of November, 1643, Elizabeth Dabridgcourte, the daughter of Thomas Dabridgcourte, esq; lieutenant-colonel in the king's armie, and deputie governor under Colonel Howe, (or Howard)† of the town of Malmesbury." At what time Malmesbury fell again into the hands of the parliament is not certain.‡

§ Perhaps it was in or near this time; for
1645 in the wall over one of the lofty arches of the abbey church is a large hole, said to have been made by a cannon-ball, in an assault on the town by Oliver Cromwell. A field named the *Worthys*, tradition reports to have been the place of encampment; and it is evident, that the ditch on the southern side of this field, which is opposite the abbey, was thrown up for some other purpose than that of a mere field fence.§ Now about the

* Hooper p. 328.

† The name of the governor is almost defaced, but I rather judge it to be Howard, of whom Hooper speaks, as a colonel in the king's army.

‡ It appears from the register, that in September 1644, the lieutenant-colonel of the garrison was Pudſie; but we are not informed whether Mr. Pudſie was a royalist or a parliamentarian. "Married 30th of September, 1644, Mar-maduke Pudſie, lieutenant-colonel of the garrison, to Mrs. Margaret Iyve, of the abbey."

§ Mr. John Samwell Ody has a deed bearing date A. D. 1659, in which it is notified, that certain houses formerly standing in the Abbey-row were burnt down in the civil wars. This circumstance renders it probable that the parliamentary troops made their attack on the town from the *Worthys*.

fore-

fore-mentioned time, Cromwell was in Wiltshire, and made himself master of the castle of Devizes.* It is therefore probable, that Malmesbury was another place in the county which he regained for the parliament. By means of the register, we trace the continuance of a garrison in Malmesbury to June, 1646.

* Kimber p. 316.

SECTION II.

Origin of Monachism briefly noticed—History of Malmesbury Abbey.

THE persecution which attended the first ages of the gospel, led the professors of christianity to withdraw from the world, and dwell in deserts and other places most private, where they employed themselves in acts of devotion. This manner of life became so agreeable to them, that when the persecution ceased, they were not disposed to return to their former habitations. From their example retirement acquired such repute, that the practice was continued by others,* who perhaps were further influenced to adopt this mode, through misinterpreting such passages of scripture, as Luke xviii. 22. and xiv. 26. Matt. xix. 29.† And some may have been induced to

* Dr. Inet's Church Hist.

† The above texts may be considered as teaching the disciples of Jesus Christ in every age to have their affections moderated towards earthly things; and that when duty and the retaining worldly possessions become inconsistent, they should be cheerfully given up, that the dearest enjoyments should be readily resigned, even life itself.—Unless extraordinary circumstances should occur, the word of God, instead of encouraging Christians to seclude themselves from civil society, admonishes them to unite a diligent prosecution of their lawful common occupations, with an earnest attention to the duties of religion. Rom. xii. 11.

betake

betake themselves to this recluse state in consequence of their having embraced the doctrine of the mystics.

Paul, who lived in the third century, and retired to the solitary deserts of Thebais in Egypt, where he spent ninety years, has been deemed the first anchoret or hermit.* Mosheim thinks, that it was the mystic theology which led him to make this retreat.

The mystics held, " That the faculty of reason was an emanation from God into the human soul, and comprehended in it the principles and elements of all truth human and divine. That *silence, tranquillity, repose, and solitude*, accompanied with such acts of mortification as might tend to exhaust the body, were the means by which the hidden and internal word was excited to produce its latent virtues, and to instruct men in the knowledge of divine things. Many who embraced this doctrine, accordingly secluded themselves from society, and lived in caves, &c. where they macerated their bodies with hunger and thirst."†

* It is however to be noted, that though Paul is placed at the head of the order of the hermits, yet that unsociable manner of life was very common in Egypt, Syria, India, and Mesopotamia, not only long before his time, but even before the coming of Christ. And it is still practised among the Mahometans as well as the Christians in those burning climates. For the glowing atmosphere that surrounds these countries, is a natural cause of that love of solitude and repose, and of that indolent and melancholy disposition, that are remarkably common among their languid inhabitants.—MacLaine's Mosheim vol. i. p. 223. The Travels of Lucas in 1714, vol. ii. p. 363.

† Moth. vol. i. p. 222.

Anthony, a native of Egypt, who lived in the fourth century, and inherited a large fortune, is said to be the first who formed the monks into regular bodies, and to have built many monasteries.* Such monks were called Cœnobites, as they dwelt together in fixed habitations,† and the brotherhood, denoting that fraternal love which should prevail among them. The person who presided over them was called Father or Abbot, which signifies the same in the Egyptian language.‡ An appellation suggesting this idea, that he was to govern the religious house with paternal authority and affection.

Basil, surnamed the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea, who lived in this century, hath been considered as the first who made a code of laws for the monks.§

William of Malmesbury says, that the first convent in England was at Glastonbury, and that it was founded in the fifth century.||

* *Mosh.* p. 306.—Noorthouck's *Hist. and Class. Dict.*

† Whereas those monks who lived in perfect solitude, and were scattered here and there in deserts, in the hollow of rocks, &c. received the denomination of Eremites. *Mosh.* p. 309.

‡ Abbot may also be derived from Abba, a word in the Jewish or Syro-Chaldaick language, which signifies Father. *Doddr. Fam. Expof.*

§ *Vid.* Dugdale's *Pref. Monast.* vol. i. Trufler. Some apprehend Pachomius was the first who governed the monks by a code of rules. *Folb.*

|| *De reg. lib. i. c. 22.* In this century arose in the east, that order of men called Stilites by the Greeks, and Sancti Columnares, or Pillar Saints, by the Latins. These were persons who stood upon the top of pillars, expressly raised for this exercise of their patience. The inventor of this strange discipline was Simeon a Syrian; he passed thirty-seven years of his life in this ridiculous manner. The learned Frederic Spanheim speaks of a second Simeon, the Stylite, who

Antiquarian writers inform us, that at the close of the sixth century there was a convent at Malmesbury. It consisted of British nuns under the direction of Dinoth,* abbot of the famous monastery of Bangor.† These nuns being charged (perhaps falsely) with living in a state of incontinence with the soldiers of the castle, were suppressed by Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury.‡

A. D.
630. About this time Meyldulph, a Scot, a man of singular piety and strict holiness of life, being persecuted in his own country, left it, and travelled from place to place till he came to Malmesbury, then called Ingelburne, which had been a town of note for many ages, and was at that time defended by a castle. Taken with the pleasantness of the spot, he obtained a piece of ground at the foot of the castle hill, where he raised an hermitage. Being a learned man he

who lived in the sixth century. This fanatic remained upon his pillar sixty-eight years. Span. Ecclef. Hist. p. 1154. Evagrius Hist. lib. vi. c. 23. Mosh. vol. i. p. 309.

* Leland's Collect. vol. i. p. 304. and vol. ii. p. 395. Tanner, Grose.—Dinoth is spoken of as a prudent clerk, and well skilled in what were afterwards called the seven liberal sciences. Sammes.

† Bangor monastery (says Mr. Hume) was a building so extensive, that there was a mile's distance from one gate of it to another; and it contained two thousand one hundred monks, of whom we are told that they maintained themselves by their own labour.

‡ Pope Gregory sent over to England, Augustine, who was a Roman monk, and forty of his brethren, to attempt the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.—Success attended these missionaries, and Augustine subjected the Church of England to Rome by owning the Pope's supremacy, which, however, none of the British bishops in his time would acknowledge. Andrews, Noorthouck.

established

established a school for his support.* In process of time he collected a number of persons disposed to live under regular discipline, and built a small monastery.† The members of this society were so indigent, that with much difficulty they procured their daily sustenance.‡ After long consultation between Meyldulph and Aldhelm, a monk of the same place, it was determined to put this religious house under episcopal jurisdiction.§ An application was made to Lutherius, Bishop of Winchester, and Primate of the West-Saxons. By means of this prelate, the abbey was raised from a low to a magnificent state.|| It is probable that Kenewalch, a king of Wessex, (over whom Lutherius had great influence)¶ and Ethelred, King of Mercia, contributed towards the erection of the edifice.** The town of Malmesbury, which belonged to Lutherius, was given by him to the abbey. The following is a translation of the original deed relating to

* Camden, Hearne, Grose. We are told that Malmesbury had the first school in England in which the Latin language was taught.

Hic habuit primam lingua Latina scholam.—Hob. vit. p. i.

† Malmesburiens. monasterium. A quodam Meyldulpho, natione (ut aiunt) Scotto, eruditione philosopho, professione monacho, adeo angustis sumptibus elaboratum. Will. Malmf. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 6.

‡ Ut inhabitantes quotidianum victum ægre expedirent. Ibid.

§ Ibid.

|| Lutherius. Malmf. Monast. Intuitu ex humili ad amplissimum statum provexit. Ibid.

¶ Ibid. Sam. p. 566.

** It appears from an ancient deed, that Ethelred became a benefactor to the abbey A. D. 675. Malmesbury was situated on the borders of Wessex, adjoining to Mercia.

that donation:—"I, Lutherius, by the grace of God, bishop and primate of the West Saxons, have been asked by the abbots, who are known to preside with pastoral anxiety over the convent of monks, subject to our parochial law,* that I would vouchsafe to grant to Aldhelm the presbyter, for the purpose of enabling him to lead a monastic life, that land which is called *Maildulfesburch*, in which place he has constantly lived from his earliest infancy, and was there instructed betimes in the rudiments of liberal learning, and brought up in the bosom of our holy mother the Church. From this circumstance, principally, fraternal affection seems to suggest the present petition. Wherefore, in compliance with the prayer of the aforesaid abbots,† and induced by the request of the brotherhood, I voluntarily grant the place itself to them and their successors, following the rule of the holy order with diligent devotion."—Done in public by the side of the river SEPT. 8.
Bladon. 675†

Meyldulph did not long survive this A. D.
transaction. Willis says, that he died 676§
and was succeeded by Aldhelm. Through his

* Dugdale says, the division of a diocese into parishes first took place about A. D. 636.

† Meyldulph, we may suppose, through the infirmities of age, became incapable of discharging the duties of his station, and therefore received Aldhelm as an assistant, who, it appears, had the title of abbot before the death of Meyldulph.

‡ Will. of Malm. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. i. p. 6, 7. Appendix, Note IV.

§ Mitred Ab. vol. i. p. 136.

efforts, and the favour of Lutherius, the monastery became very prosperous, both as to its revenues, and the multitude of monks, who from all quarters flocked to it. And it seems, that religion and literature flourished in this convent; for Aldhelm was a person of exemplary devotion and great erudition for that age.*

Among the numerous benefactors to Malmesbury abbey were,—Ina, Athelstan, Edgar, Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, and his Queen Matilda.

A. D. 701 Ina, one of the kings of Wessex, gave to Malmesbury abbey the manors of Cowfolde, Rodborne, Corston, and Burton, with the appurtenances.† He also confirmed a special grant made by Pope Sergius to Aldhelm the abbot, and his successors.‡ Ina has the character of a peculiarly just and humane prince, and is known for a code of laws still extant in the Saxon language.§ He built several abbeys.¶ After a long reign, he resigned his throne, turned monk, and made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he had founded a college for the education of English youth. On his return home, he shut himself up in a cloister, and there died.¶

* Tunc res monasterii in immensum efferri, tunc monachi undique aggregari currebatur ad Aldelmum totis compitis: his vitæ sanctimoniam, his literarum scientiam desiderantibus. Erat enim vir ille cum religione simplex, tum eruditione multiplex. *Will. of Malm.* Ibid.

† From the register-book of the monastery of Malmesbury in the British Museum *Bibl. Cotton. Faust.* b. viii.

‡ Appendix, Note V.

¶ Appendix, Note VI.

§ Sammes, p. 570, &c.

¶ Hume. Athelstan

Athelstan, son of Edward the elder, ^{ABOUT} and grandson of Alfred the Great,* gave 938 Kemyll, Ewryge, Horton, and Ewelme, to the abbey;† also the estate of Alfred, a nobleman, which was confiscated on account of the conspiracies into which he had entered against that prince: some curious particulars relating to the matter are mentioned elsewhere.‡ But the donation deemed most valuable was this:—Athelstan, among the presents from Hugh, King of France, had received the sword of Constantine the Great, in the hilt whereof was one of the nails which fastened Christ to the cross, and the spear of Charles the Great, reputed to be the same that pierced Christ's side; likewise part of the wood which composed the identical cross of Christ, enclosed in crystal; and part of the crown of thorns which he wore, enclosed in the same manner. The two last articles Athelstan gave to Malmesbury abbey, and William the historian says, he believes they contributed not a little to its prosperity.§

* His grandfather Alfred had a high opinion of him: when he was young, and knighted him; and he is said to have been the first in England who received that honour.

† From the register-book of the monastery, &c. ‡ Appendix, Note VII.

§ Hugo rex Francorum per nuncios a germano expetiit. Princeps hujus legationis fuit Adulphus. Is protulit munera sane amplissima.—Ensem Constantini magni, in capulo super crassas auri laminas clavum ferreum affixum cerneret unum ex quatuor quos Judaica factio Dominici corporis aptaret supplicio. Lanceam Caroli magni.—Ferebatur eadem esse quæ Dominico lateri centurionis manu impacta, preciosi vulneris hiatus paradisum miseris mortalibus aperuit.—Particulam sanctæ & adorandæ crucis crifallo inclusam. Portiunculam quoque coronæ spinæ eodem modo inclusam.—Partem crucis et coronæ Malmesburie

Such was Athelstan's veneration for Aldhelm the second abbot, that he chose him for his tutelar saint. His cousins Elwin and Ethelwin, slain in the famous battle of Brunanburgh, were by Athelstan's order buried in the abbey church, near the aepulchre of St. Aldhelm.* Athelstan himself

A. D. 941 dying at Glocester, his body was brought to Malmesbury in great solemn pomp, and interred under the high altar.† This prince, renowned for his bravery, political knowledge, and efforts to advance literature and commerce, having displayed such liberality towards Malmesbury abbey, and the inhabitants of the town having also been distinguished by his beneficence, in testimony of their gratitude, instituted a festival in commemoration of their royal benefactor. It is annually kept on the second Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, and is deemed the principal holiday in the year.

A. D. 974 King Edgar gave Escote to Malmesbury abbey,‡ and it is supposed, that by him the conventual church was rebuilt. This is probable

Malmesburiz delegavit, quorum sustentaculo adhuc credo vigere locum illum, &c. Will. Malmef. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii. c. 6. It is not much to be wondered at, that a writer of William's abilities should make this reflection, when we consider the credulity and superstition common to the age, and the extravagant veneration which had been paid to relics throughout Europe. Some curious instances are noticed by Mr. Andrews, vol. i. p. 80.

* Will. Malmef. de gest. reg. Angl. lib. ii. c. 6. p. 28.

† Id. p. 29. *Vitæ termino expleto & quidem immaturo, Athelstanus Glocestriæ diem clausit. Exuviz triumphales Malmesburiam delatæ, et sub altare tumulatæ sunt. Portata ante corpus multa in argento & auro donaria, simul et sanctorum reliquiæ de transmarina Brittania emptæ.*

‡ Register-book of the monastery of Malmesbury.

from

from his deed, which relates to the ejection of the secular priests from Malmesbury, and to the restoration of the regulars, in which he expresses himself to the following effect:—"That having often attentively considered what return he should make to God for the extraordinary prosperity he enjoyed, he came to this resolution; that he would restore the sacred monasteries, which being composed of rotten shingles and worm-eaten boards, divine service was neglected in them, and they were almost deserted. That having expelled the illiterate clerks, who were subject to no rule of religious discipline,* he had in most places constituted as pastors, persons of the holy order, &c. and had issued gifts from his treasury for the repairing of the ruined edifices.† That he had appointed Ælfric, a man eminently skilled and practised in ecclesiastical matters, to preside over the famous abbey of Malmesbury. And that for the welfare of his soul, and for the honour of our Saviour, Mary his mother, mother of God, and always a virgin; the apostles Peter and Paul, and Aldhelm

* The monks in England married and supported their families with decency until the reign of Edgar, when Dunstan introduced celibacy, and tore their wives and children from such priests, filling them harlots and bastards. And. vol. i. p. 80. Those monks who were willing to retain their wives and children were termed secular priests, and those who quitted both were styled regulars. Be it remembered, that the account transmitted to us of the secular clergy, who lived at that period, comes from their enemies. Tan. p. 5.

† Edgar, we are told, erected or rather refounded forty-seven monasteries. Fleming, vol. ii. p. 518. And the lands, &c. which had been taken away from the religious houses, were restored by his authority. Tan. p. 3.

the holy bishop,—he had restored to the use of the monastery the lands, meadows, and woods, which in the time of the clerks came unjustly into the hands of Æthelnoth, who had been convicted of the fraud by his wise men in his presence.”*

A. D.
1065 Edward, whose munificence to the monks gained him the appellation of Confessor, confirmed the former donations to this monastery, and himself granted it great privileges. In this charter he says, “ All things that are written, observes the apostle, are written for our learning, that by patience and consolation of the scriptures we may have hope. Therefore eternal durable joys are to be purchased instead of earthly and fleeting ones, and good things are to be obtained by hope. For God himself will render retribution of all our actions in the day of examination, according to every one’s desert. Wherefore I, Edward, through the divine favour governing the royal sceptre of the English, being asked by Brithric, abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, with the consent of my bishops and nobles, for the honour of the holy mother of God, Mary, perpetual virgin, and for reverence of St. Aldhelm, formerly abbot of the same monastery, afterwards Bishop of Sherburne; whose glorious body in the same church venerably reposeth, and shines with many miracles, do grant, and by my royal authority do enjoin, that the same

* Appendix, Note VIII. contains a copy of the original from William of Malmesbury, for the satisfaction of the learned reader.

church, and all its lands and possessions which this day it holds, or hereafter by the bounty of any of my faithful people it may hold, in perpetual right, and in perpetual peace they may hold.— And I do grant and enjoin, that the same church be free from all worldly yoke, viz. of shires, and hundreds, and pleas, and quarrels, and all gelds and customs. I grant moreover to it full liberty, that is, *saca* and *soka*, *tol* and *theam*, *infang-theoffe manbucke*,* &c. Whoever, therefore, assents this our donation or liberty, may it lead him to the enjoyment of paradise. But whoever contemns it, may he with hands and feet bound be plunged into the depth of hell.”†

William the Conqueror became a benefactor to Malmesbury.‡ His charter A.D.
1081 contains heavy anathemas and curses against those of whatever degree or quality who should infringe or diminish the same,§ and a blessing to such as should increase or improve these gifts. But it is well known, that he was far from uniting zeal for religion with justice and humanity, which indeed he is said to have bitterly lamented in a dying hour. It is remarkable, that after what he had

* *Saca*, *Soka*, &c. occur in most of the monastic charters, and imply the manorial privileges common in feudal times of free liberty of sale, or purchase, having markets, fairs, and mills, and exercising jurisdiction over their immediate vassals. *Fosbrooke*.

† From Mr. Caley's translation of the charter of King Edward the Confessor, of the liberties of the church of Malmesbury. The original is in the register-book of the abbey, in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdown.

‡ *Dug. Monast.* vol. i. p. 53.

§ *Appendix*, Note IX.

done in erecting and endowing monasteries, it was with difficulty that he could obtain a burying place in one of them. For history relates, that when this famous monarch was about to be interred in the abbey church of Caen in Normandy, which he himself had founded, a certain person forbade the burial, because the ground where the church stood was *his*. And accordingly William's son, Henry, who was present, was obliged to make this man satisfaction before the corpse could be buried.*

Matilda, the wife of William, also gave to the abbey some lands at Garsdon.† This benefactress has been celebrated for her virtues by historians, ancient and modern. William of Malmesbury speaks in the highest terms of her prudence and modesty:‡ and Mr. Andrews represents her, as a pattern of goodness and industry to the ladies of every age.

Several other personages made large grants to this monastery. Indeed, before the conquest, it appears from that part of Edward the Confessor's charter, (which is contained in the Appendix to this work) that the manors belonging to the abbot consisted of three hundred and thirty hides of land, nearly equal to forty thousand acres, if we reckon one hundred and twenty acres to an hide.

The abbey which was thus richly endowed, was built in the form of a cross. A very stately structure.

* Will. of Malmesb.

† Register-book of the abbey.

‡ "Prudentiæ speculum, pudoris culmen."

William of Worcester, in the reign of HENRY VI. travelled through several parts of England; was at Malmesbury, and measured this church. These were the dimensions, according to his manuscript, preserved in Bennet-college library, in the University of Cambridge.*

“The *length* of the whole church of the monastery of St. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, with the choir, contains one hundred and seventy-two of my steps, and its *breadth* forty-two steps.

“The *length* of the chapel at the east end, dedicated to the blessed Mary, is thirty-six steps; the *breadth* of the same chapel fourteen steps.

“The *length* of the cloisters every way. Each side of the cloisters contains about sixty-four steps.

“The *breadth* of the principal nave of the church beyond the wings is twenty-two steps.”†

Leland, who in the reign of HENRY VIII. visited Malmesbury, speaking of the abbey church, says, “It is a right magnificent thing; had two steeples. One that had a mightie high pyramis, and felle daungerously, *in hominum memoria*, (in the memory of man) and sins was not re-edified; it stode in the midle of the tran-

* This MS. has been printed by Dr. Walsmith.

† See Appendix Note X. for a copy of the original.—William’s measure by gressus or steps, was about two feet to each step, so that we may consider the “whole length of the abbey church (the chapel included) to have been four hundred and sixteen feet, and the breadth eighty and upwards, that is, from out to out.” But this mode of measurement can scarcely be depended upon as quite accurate.

septum of the chirch, and was a marke to al the countrie aboute. The *other* yet stondith, a greate square toure at the west ende of the chirch.”*

The appearance which the abbey church exhibited, “about the middle of the xvii century,” may be seen from a draught in Dugdale’s *Monasticon*.† It is judged, that about a third part of the original fabric was then standing.

Willis, describing the abbey church in its *complete* state, says, “That it consisted of a very spacious body, with a fine western front and tower;‡ had a large steeple in the middle,§ a cross ile,|| choir, &c. The steeples were replenished with several bells; no less than ten (as the inhabitants informed me) hanging together in the middle tower, and two in the western.¶ On one of them was this inscription:—

“Elysiam cœli nunquam conscendit ad aulam,
Qui furat hanc nolam Aldelmi sede beati.”**

Mr. Willis thinks this abbey church to have

* *Lel. Itin.* vol. ii. p. 21.

† *Monast. Angl.* vol. i. p. 49.—There is a better drawing (I have been informed) in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

‡ The length of the nave was nearly one hundred and sixty feet, and its front about ninety. It contained eighteen large pointed windows in the upper story, and the same number of circular-headed ones in the side aisles, besides a very large rich window over the western entrance, and a small one on each side, and was supported by sixteen large, round columns.

§ The spire of this steeple, tradition says, was seven yards higher than that of Salisbury.

|| One hundred and sixty feet from north to south.

¶ Appendix Note XI.

** “In heaven’s blest mansions he ne’er sets his feet,
Who steals this bell from Aldhelm’s sacred seat.”

been

been equal, if not superior, to most cathedrals in England.*

Mr. Collinson observes, “That Malmesbury abbey, from the plans, views, and descriptions before its dissolution, and also from its present remains, appears to have been a most magnificent pile. The abbot’s lodgings, hall, and principal gate-way, were remarkably grand, and the offices of vast extent. That the abbey, with the buildings belonging to it, covered (as tradition saith) the space of *forty-five acres*.”†

This tradition may be deemed credible, when we consider not only the magnitude of the conventual church, and the abbot’s mansion, but also the several spacious apartments for the use of the monks; and the great officers of the monastery;‡ and that such offices as the *eleemosynaria* or *almshouse*, the *sanctuary* or *place of protection*, the *infirmary*, &c. in the larger monasteries, were distinct structures. They had too *officinæ* or *shops* of bakers, weavers, tanners, shoe-makers, &c. and *hospitia* for entertaining strangers. Beside such appendages as *ambulatories*, or *places of exercise*, *gardens*, *orchards*, *rabbit warrens*, *fish ponds*, *dove houses*,§ they had frequently *vineyards*.||—The *fish ponds* belonging to Malmesbury abbey were

* Willis’s Mitred. Ab. vol. i. p. 135. † Collin. Beauties of Brit. Antiq.

‡ All such officers in large abbeys had separate apartments. Will. Cath. vol. ii. p. 264.

§ The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne, p. 425.

|| And. vol. i. p. 443.

at the bottom of the hill, on which stands the building called the *abbot's house*. The *dove-house* was situate on part of that spot, which, to this day, is stiled the *dove-yard*. The *vineyard* appears, from William of Malmesbury, to have been that tract of land, which is contiguous to the south and west sides of the Worthys. He acquaints us, that a Grecian monk, named Constantine, quitting his own country, came hither, and that he was the person who planted it; and that the vineyard continued many years.*—The abbies had *granges* or *farms*, under the special care of persons denominated Grangiarii.† A *farm*, a little way out of the town, near the road to Chippenham, was a *grange* that belonged to Malmesbury monastery.‡

The number of monks who resided in this abbey, of course varied at different periods.§

The rule observed in it was *that of St. Benedict*.

* Venit ad locum quidam Monachus Græcus, nomine Constantinus, cæterum, unde oriundus incertum, necessitas an voluntas domo, patriâque eliminaverit. Hic primus astor vineæ fuit, quæ in colle monasterio ad aquilonem vicino sita, plures duravit annos. Will. of Malmesb. de vita Aldhelmi. Auxil. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS. The same writer, speaking of the vale of Gloucester, says, "It is more abundant in vineyards than any other part of England; and they produce great quantities of sweet, well-tasted grapes. Their wine is by no means unpleasantly tart to the taste, but is hardly inferior in flavour to that of France." And. vol. i. p. 230. I am informed, that there is a spot near Gloucester, on the western side of the city, which is now called "the Vineyards."

† Folbrooke.

‡ Minister's Accounts, 32d. Hen, VIII. Cowfold, in the county of Wilts. Augment Off.

§ Appendix, Note XII.

“ Innocent, bishop, the lowest of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, and his brethren, both present and to come; dedicated to regular mode of living. It is meet, that those who choose a religious life, should be under apostolical protection; lest any rash intrusion should shake them from their purpose, or (which God forbid) lessen the strength of religion. Therefore, beloved sons in the Lord, we have graciously assented to your reasonable petitions, and taken the monastery of Malmesbury, in the diocese of Sarum, in which by divine service you are engaged, under our own and St. Peter’s protection, &c. ordaining, that the monastic order, which is instituted in the said monastery, (according to God, and the rule of St. Benedict) be there, and at all times inviolably observed.”*

Benedict, a native of Italy, was a man of piety and reputation for the age he lived in. He instituted a new order of monks. A. D. 529 From his rule of discipline, which has been often printed, we understand, that it was his intention to form an order, whose discipline should be milder than that of other monastic bodies. The members of it, during the course of a holy and peaceable life, were to divide their time between prayer, reading, the education of youth, and other pious

* From Mr. Caley’s translation of the bull of Pope Innocent IV. relating to Malmesbury abbey.

and

and learned labours.* Most of the monasteries in the western part of Europe submitted to Benedict's discipline.† But the monks having acquired immense riches from the liberality of the opulent, they became slothful, lewd, luxurious, and very ignorant.

A. D.
927 Arose an order of monks, who were called Cluniacs.‡

A. D.
1084 An order denominated the Carthusian, was founded.§

A. D.
1098 The Cistercian order began.|| These, and other orders followed the rule of St. Bene-

* *Annales Ordin. Benedicti*, tom. i.

† *Mosheim*, vol. i. p. 449.

‡ As the Latin monks had entirely lost sight of all subordination and discipline, Odo, a noble frank, the second abbot of Clugni, is said to have completed the plan for their reformation, begun by his predecessor. This new discipline (though the additional rites were insignificant) was in a short time generally received into the European convents. *Id.* vol. ii. p. 211. William, Earl of Warren, son-in-law to King William the Conqueror, first brought these monks into England, and built their first house at Lewes, in Sussex, about 1077. *Tanner's Notit. Monast. Pref.* p. 14.

§ Bruno was the founder of this society; a canon of the cathedral of Rheims, in France. This zealous ecclesiastic, who could not bear the dissolute manners of his archbishop, Manasse, retired from his church with six of his companions, and fixed his residence near Grenoble, in Dauphine; the dismal spot was called Chartreux, from whence is derived the name "Carthusian."—*Mosh.* vol. ii. p. 309. Henry II. founded at Witham, in Somerset, the first house the Carthusians had in England. *Tan.* *Pref.* p. 8.

|| Cistercians, so called from Cistercium or Cisteaux, in the bishopric of Chalons, in France. Robert Moleme was the founder. Having employed his most zealous efforts in vain, to oblige his monks to observe with more exactness the rule of St. Benedict, he, with about twenty monks, separated from the rest, and laid the foundation of this famous order. As St. Bernard (whose influence through all Europe over people and princes was astonishingly great) chiefly contributed to the spreading of this order, the Cistercians in several places were distinguished by the title of "Bernardins." *Mosh.* vol. ii. p. 306, 406.

They

dict, to which they made certain alterations.* The discipline of the Carthusian and Cistercian orders was extremely severe.†

Novices, or persons who entered a religious house, for the purpose of becoming monks, were put under the tuition of the aged. None usually were to be admitted as monks until they had reached their eighteenth year, according to canons, though about fifteen was the most usual time, yet great variations existed in this respect; and they were to pass a year of probation and instruction before the ceremony of profession took place. At the appointed season, the novice to be professed, after private prayer, went to the chapter, requesting the society of the house. This being granted, the abbot, or prior, holding his hands between his own, he took the oaths upon the missal,‡ whereby he solemnly bound himself to *poverty, constancy, and obedience*. He then carried the missal to the altar, a religious service was performed, and the dress of the order delivered to him.§ In the Benedictine order, it was thus:—The convert was led into the church, and the psalm *Miserere* was sung; after which followed appropriate prayers; then

They came into England in 1128, and had their first house at Waverley, in Surry. Tan. Pref. p. 16.

* The orders of Grandmont, Savigni, and Tiron. Mosh. vol. ii. p. 309. Tan. Pref. p. 15.

† Appendix, Note XIII.

‡ Or mass book, containing the service used in the Romish church at the celebration of the sacrament.

§ Dug. Pref. Monast, vol. i. vol. ii. p. 500.

such

such as were suitable to the benediction of the habit, and to putting off the secular, and assuming the monastic one. This was succeeded by a particular prayer, and the kiss of peace being given by all, he continued in silence till the third day.*

The monks were required to devote the principal part of each day to the performance of religious services, distinguished by the following names:—

Mattins. This service began about twelve, or at one o'clock in the morning.

Lauds. At three. After which they returned to the dormitory.†

Prime. At six.

Thirds. At nine.‡ About this part of the day the monks assembled in the chapter-house, to transact the business of the convent. The prior having proclaimed "*Loquamur de ordine nostro*," or, "Let us speak of the affairs of the order." Hereupon, complaints against delinquents were brought forwards, or they voluntarily acknowledged them, soliciting pardon, or offering penance, &c.

Sixths, or the service of the sixth hour followed; after which they proceeded to the cloister to study, to transcribe, or to illuminate.§

* Folbrooke's Brit. Monachism, vol. ii. Novices, where all the forms of profession at large.

† Some are said to have spent the interval in private prayer. Netley Abbey.

‡ According to some, at eight.

§ This consisted in beautifying a work with pictures and initial letters of various descriptions.

Nones. At mid-day* another service was sung. They then went to the refectory to dine. A psalm was chanted, prayers and grace were said, &c.

Vespers commenced immediately after dinner. This being concluded, they proceeded to the cloister to read, or to the dormitory to sleep. About five o'clock they met again in the refectory to sup; a religious conference followed, which lasted until the office called *Complin* began, about six in the evening.† Soon after they retired to their respective beds. On these they took their rest without undressing themselves.‡

On Sundays the monks preached. Their sermons were composed of a strange medley, and delivered with various gesticulations.§

With respect to the *Abbot* or *Head* of such a religious house, he was to be chosen by the society for the merits of his life and learning. In the thirteenth century, skill in glossing the scriptures, transcribing, illuminating,|| chanting, and know-

* Twelve o'clock was anciently devoted to Sixths, and three to Nones.—Bingh. Antiq.

† Of the several canonical hours, see Brit. Monachism, part i.

‡ Netley Abbey.

§ Folbrooke, from Willis's Cathedr. Ichneogr. Wart. Gest. Roman.

|| Adorning books with pictures, and letters of divers colours, was a branch of miniature painting, followed by the monks with much success. The figures were wrought with a wonderful exactness of finishing, and the materials used were so durable, that their missals still dazzle our eyes with the brightness of their colour, and the splendour of their gilding. This was a useful, as well as curious art. From manuscripts thus illuminated, that indefatigable and judicious antiquary, M. Strutt, has produced portraits of the earlier kings of England, and views of the buildings, and also represented the customs and manners of our ancestors.—And. vol. i. p. 259. and vol. ii. p. 171.

ledge of the rules of St. Benedict, were esteemed as requisite qualifications for one of that order.* Part of the duty of the abbot consisted in giving, from time to time, instructions and admonitions to the members of the convent.

The abbots of some monasteries were subject to the authority of the bishops; but *others* were independent.† Of the *latter* was the abbot of Malmesbury; who was one of the twenty-five fixed upon for parliamentary abbots by EDWARD III.‡ These dignitaries wore mitres, exercised episcopal jurisdiction within their respective limits, gave the solemn benediction, and had seats and votes in the House of Lords.§ Such abbots lived in great state: they kept public tables,|| and had no small number of considerable officers belonging to their houses.

Of the *principal officers* were,

The *Prior* and *Sub-Prior*, who had a share in the government of the monks; the *former* superintended the concerns of the monastery when the abbot was absent.

The *Cellarer* or house-steward.¶

The *Almoner*, who had the oversight of the alms, which were every day distributed to the poor.

* Fosbrooke, from Wart. Hist. Engl. Poetry, vol. i. p. 446.

† Spelman.

‡ Fuller's Church History, book vi. p. 292. Appendix, Note XIV.

§ Tan. Pref. p. 25.

|| Fosbrooke, from Lynd. Oxf. ed. p. 209.

¶ An officer of great consequence in some houses; the cellarer of Ely governed the city. Camd. Brit.

The *Pitancier*, who had the care of the pittances, which were an allowance of bread, beer, &c. upon particular occasions, over and above the common provisions.*

The *Chamberlain*, who presided over the dormitory, and provided for the monks part of their clothing.†—Among the officers mentioned in the list of pensions, assigned to the abbot and monks of Malmesbury, at the dissolution of monasteries, are the *Steward of the Lands* and *Chamberlain*, the *Prior*, *Sub-Prior*, *Tierce-Prior*, *Pitancier*, and the *Steward to the Abbot*.

These dignified ecclesiastics had their country residences, with the addition of parks on the convent estates.‡ *Cowfolde Park*, now called *Cole Park*, in this neighbourhood, was *one of the parks* of the abbot of Malmesbury.§ We find, that at this park, Henry VIII. after the dissolution, kept a stud,|| and came into the neighbourhood to hunt. That stud, we are led to consider, as having belonged to the abbot; for as the mitred abbots resided sumptuously in their monasteries, so when they travelled their attendants were very nume-

* Gloss. to Kennett's Parochial Antiquities.

† *Ingulphi Historia*, p. 498. Tan. Pref. p. 29, 30. The menial offices, principally those of agriculture, were performed by the *fratres conversi*, (or lay-brothers) who devoted themselves to the service of the religious. Fosbrooke,

‡ *Lel. Itin.* vol. viii. p. 35.

§ *Minist. Accounts*, 32d Henry VIII. From Mr. Caley's MS. Also, *Lel. Itin.*

|| *Minister's Accounts*, &c,

rous,*

rous,* and their equipage pompous. Sometimes they rode with such a retinue, that we are told, their train resembled the triumphal processions of Caesar.†

Wickliffe, the first celebrated English reformer, ABOUT 1365 began to attack this conventual magnificence. He had been chosen by the seculars, head of a college, founded at Oxford, for the scholars of Canterbury; but the newly admitted monks resolved to prefer a regular to that dignity, and the contests rose to such a height, that Wickliffe and the seculars appealed to Pope Urban V. who obliged him to resign. He retired to the living of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, and became a warm opponent of the church of Rome. He was incessantly persecuted, but received protection from the Duke of Lancaster, and others of exalted rank. He is represented as a man of great piety, and who, by dint of merit, had obtained the highest academical honours. His efforts for reformation were so successful, that Knighton affirms, more than half the people of England embraced his doctrine.‡ Thus, monachism especially, experienced a fearful shock. At different periods, a great number of religious houses were

* The abbot of Glasenbury, when he went abroad, was attended by upwards of "one hundred persons." Collinson's History, &c. of Somerset, vol. ii. p. 256.

† *Caballie stipati Caesaris triumphos nobis referunt.* The. More ad Mart. Dorp. annexed to the *Moriae Encom.* Erasmi. p. 516. Folsbrooke.

‡ Noorthouck, Andrews, vol. i. p. 432.

suppressed;

suppressed; till at length, all the monastic institutions, whose pomp and splendour had for a long season dazzled the eyes of the populace, were overthrown by the potent hand of the resolute Henry VIII.

This monarch professed to have scruples, respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow, Catharine of Arragon. He in vain solicited the Pope for a divorce. Whatever was the King's real motive, whether scruples of conscience, reasons of state, dislike to the person of the Queen, or his love of Anne Boleyn; be these things as they may, it seems, that most of the foreign universities (having been consulted, by the advice of Doctor Cranmer) gave it as their opinion, that the marriage was inconsistent with the divine law.

The sentence of divorce was pronounced
by Cranmer, between Henry and his Queen. * ^{A. D.} 1533

As soon as the news reached Rome, the Pope passionately annulled Cranmer's sentence. In return, an act was passed ^{A. D.}

for abolishing the Pope's power in England; ¹⁵³⁴
and an oath was enjoined, whereby all persons were obliged to swear, that they acknowledged the King as supreme head of the English church.†
The monks and friars being strongly attached to the Pope, were very open in their invectives

* And, vol. ii. p. 266.

† Kimb. p. 237. And. p. 268.

against the King,* and shewed themselves utter enemies to his supremacy, and to all the statutes made against the Pope's authority.†

Henry being resolved to suppress the monasteries,‡ Cromwell, Earl of Essex, remarkable for the extremes of condition he experienced,§ was appointed by the King vicegerent of ecclesiastical affairs, with full powers to visit and examine the abbies, priories, &c. He, and the other commissioners, on making a strict inquiry into the conduct of the monks and nuns, discovered scenes of lewdness, &c. A long course of licentious living, had stifled, in some, all sense of shame.¶ The report of the commissioners induced the parliament

A. D. 1535 to decree the dissolution of all the smaller monastic foundations. The estates and effects of such religious houses were adjudged to the King.¶ These proceedings occasioned insurrections, but happily they were crushed without much bloodshed.** The dissolution of the lesser

* Ibid. Peyto, a friar, who preached before the King, told him, that the dogs would lick his blood.

† Hume!

‡ Goldsmith.

§ He was the son of a blacksmith; became one of Cardinal Wolsey's domestics; was introduced to the notice of the King, and raised by Henry even to the next rank after the royal family. Admitting, that in his very exalted state, he was sometimes despotic, yet he appears to have been a man of integrity and gratitude. He ventured his fortune and life for his patron, Wolsey. And. vol. ii. p. 284.

¶ The prior of Maiden-Bradley owned, that he had already provided for seven of his children from the goods of his priory. He produced a Papal dispensation for keeping a concubine. Id. p. 270.

¶ Burnet's History, &c. vol. i. p. 223.

** And. vol. ii. p. 274.

abbies were intended, as a prelude to *that* of the greater. Accordingly, upon any vacancies in the government of these convents, care was taken to fill them with such persons as were disposed to assist in their suppression. Another visitation was appointed. This brought to light additional proofs of that shocking depravity which prevailed in the convents, particularly at Battle Abbey, in Sussex, and Christ Church, Canterbury.* Beside enormities, the visitors discovered frauds practised by the monks in regard to relics and images. At Reading, an one-winged angel was shewn, which the monks pretended had brought from Judea the very spear that had wounded our Saviour. The visitors found, that the same kind of machinery used in puppet shows, was applied by the monks, to cause the images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and other saints, to move, and nod, and turn the head, which the deluded people imagined to be the effect of a divine Power.† But it ought to be noticed, that profligate manners, &c. did not universally disgrace the convents.—Lord Herbert says, that some societies behaved so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare time was employed in writing books, painting, carving, &c.‡ And Mr. Gyffard, one of the visitors, declared on behalf of the house of Woolstrop, that there were

* Id. p. 178.

† Kimber, Andrews.

‡ Hist. of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.

none belonging to it, but what did engage in the fore-mentioned and similar exercises.* Still, this was not deemed a sufficient reason for suffering any of them to remain. Many abbots were prevailed upon (either by threats or promises) to give up their convents. When other methods failed, recourse was had to compulsion, as in the case of the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury; who, persevering in their resistance, were accused of high treason, and executed. The abbot of Malmesbury was one, who peaceably resigned his charge.

The number of religious houses suppressed, amounted to *six hundred and forty-three monasteries, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chauntries and chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals*. Their annual value, as given in before the suppression, when the rents were low, was 152,517*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*; but their real value was supposed to be 1,600,000*l.* The plate, furniture, &c. belonging to these houses, likewise rose to a prodigious sum. From this fund, six new bishoprics were erected, viz. Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster; which last ceased to be a bishopric after its first bishop, and was changed into a deanery, &c. The colleges of Christ Church, at Oxford, and the Holy Trinity, at Cambridge, were founded; also, in both the universities, professor-

* And. vol. ii. p. 282.

ships of divinity, law, physic, and of the Hebrew and Greek tongues. Moreover, pensions were allowed to several of the abbots, and to the monks and nuns.*

The parliament confirmed to the King the rich seizures he had made, and his distribution of the profits.† A. D. 1539

A bill was brought in for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Knights Hospitalars,‡ and passed in a short time; and hereby all their revenues were given to the King.§ A. D. 1540

The stoppage of the wonted hospitality and charity of the abbies, was displeasing to the public

* Kimb. p. 239. And. *ibid.* Tan. Pref. p. 39.

† And. *ibid.*

‡ This order took its name from an hospital built at Jerusalem, for the use of sick and needy pilgrims, coming to the Holy Land to visit the sepulchre of Christ. The hospital was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. This institution was before what is called the Holy War. Several devout persons, of both sexes, coming as pilgrims to Jerusalem, resolved to continue there on this charitable account, and subsist on such supplies to themselves, and the diseased pilgrims they took care of, as the bounty of well disposed Christians thought fit to send them. Their care not being confined to any particular sect of Christians, nor even to Christians themselves, they were protected, when Jerusalem was in the hands of the Saracens. After the Christians were masters of Jerusalem, they became more known for the great help they afforded the sick and wounded soldiers; and had grants and donations, both in money and lands, all over Christendom; by which means they were encouraged to form themselves into a regular corporation, and soon after to erect that corporation into a military order, and to hire soldiers to fight under their banner, for the defence of the holy sepulchre and christianity. On their being driven out of the Holy Land, as they settled chiefly at Rhodes, they received the appellation of "Knights of Rhodes;" and upon the loss of Rhodes, having the island of Malta given them by the Emperor Charles V. they were called "Knights of Malta."—Collins, vol. iii. p. 97. Tan. Pref. p. 24.

§ Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 267.

in part. To induce the people to be quiet, it was signified, that in consequence of the great supplies issuing from the sale of the monasteries, they should not be charged for the future with subsidies, loans, or common aids. And to content the nobility and gentry, he sold them the abbey lands, at an easy rate. Many of Henry's subjects, through Luther's writings, &c. were become friends of the reformed religion, and on that account approved the suppression of the monasteries.

Here we may observe, that Henry, though quite averse from the doctrine of the reformers, yet, by overthrowing the monasteries, greatly promoted the cause of the reformation.* We are told, that this prince, after he had brought general ruin on the religious houses, founded a convent, and bequeathed large sums, to be expended in masses for the repose of his soul.†

When we consider not only the evils already specified, but, that the monasteries were privileged places for affording protection to the worst of transgressors,‡ the suppression of such houses may be supposed to meet our full approbation. At the same time, we must confess, that this undertaking was attended with circumstances, which reflect no small disgrace upon some concerned in it. The visitors were charged with peculation.§ Learning suffered a great loss, in consequence of the libraries

* Appendix, Note XV.

† And. vol. ii. p. 302.

‡ Appendix, Note XVI.

§ And. p. 282.

which

which were then wilfully and basely destroyed. "It appears, that at Malmesbury, all music books, accompt books, &c. were covered with old manuscripts; and the glovers in the town made great havock with them: gloves, no doubt, were wrapt up in many good pieces of antiquity. The inhabitants even used the manuscripts which came from the abbey, instead of bungs and corks, for stopping up their vessels."*

The antiquarian also, may be ready to regret the demolition of so many beautiful specimens of ancient architecture. But this the reformers deemed necessary, in order to render the re-establishment of monasteries more difficult, in case of an alteration in the state of affairs.—Amidst the general devastation, *Malmesbury conventual*

* From Mr. Aubrey's MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford—communicated by Mr. Britton.

Bale, who was made bishop of Ossory, in Ireland, by Edward VI. and was obliged to fly to Holland, on the accession of Queen Mary, for his opposition to Popery, will hardly be suspected of exaggerating the matter, when he says, "That a great nombre of them whych purchased those superfluous mansyons (the monasteries) reserved of the lybrary bookes, some to scoure their candle-stycks, and some to rubbe their bootes, some they sold to the grassers and sope-sellers, and some they sent over see to the bookebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full, to the wonderinge of foren nacione. Yea, the universities of this realme are not all clere in this detestable fact." He adds, "I know a merchantman, whych shall at this tyme be namelesse, that boughte the contentes of two noble lybrases for 40 shillings pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he had store ynough for as many years to come: a prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men, who love their nacion as they should do."—Dugdale's *Monast. Abridg.* Pref. p. 10.

Church

Church was spared, by means of Mr. Stumpe, a very rich clothier. Leland informs us, that "This Stumpe was the chef causer and contributor to have the abbey chirch made a paroche chirch."*

* *Lel. Itin.* Appendix, Notes XVII. and XVIII,

SECTION III.

A Description of the Remains of the Abbey Church.—The several Parts appear to have been constructed at Periods very distant from each other.

CASUALTY, and the hands of violence, as well as time, have made great ravages in this noble fabric.

“About the close of the fifteenth century,” as the inhabitants informed Leland, *the very lofty spire* that stood in the middle of the transept fell down.* It doubtless produced dreadful devastation in regard to the cross ile, and the eastern members of the edifice.† The tower, at the west, (standing in Leland’s time‡) was probably in part battered down “in the civil wars.” The cloisters too, we may suppose, were “then” (if not before) totally demolished.§

* Lel. Itin.

† Appendix, Note XIX.

‡ Lel. Itin.

§ In digging for stone in a garden adjoining the north-west end of the church, several years ago, the workmen came down upon a pavement of square stained tiles. Very lately the spot has been re-examined, and a quantity of these curious tiles discovered. They are glazed, ornamented with roses, the flower-de-luce, &c. and heads. The cloisters being situated on the north side of the nave, this may be deemed part of its “Mosaic” pavement, (or as an antiquarian would rather denominate it) “encaustic;” which succeeded the “Mosaic,” strictly so called. The monks kept kilns for making tiles. There is a particular account of such tiles in Dallaway’s *Heraldic Inquiries*.

What

What exists of the abbey church, may be considered as about *one-fourth* of the building in its perfect state.—On approaching the eastern side of the ruin, the first part we come to is the centre of the transept, where formerly stood the lofty spire. It was supported by four arches: two of these are yet complete, viz. the arch which led into the northern side of the transept, and the arch which opened into the nave. These arches are about fifty-six feet in height, and twenty-one in width. The abbey church, at present, consists only of a part of the nave and side iles: it is sixty-six feet in height, one hundred and ten in length, and sixty-eight in breadth, in the clear, or eighty, the thickness of the walls included.—From the outside of the nave down to the iles rise ornamental pinnacles, from which spring flying buttresses; and the walls beneath have buttresses. There is a relic of the circular arch of the grand western entrance. The pillars are round and plain from the base to the capital, and here commences elegant sculpture. It has a few bass-reliefs remaining, in good preservation. One of the figures, a sagittary, has been particularly admired by the antiquarian. On the southern side of the nave are two porches; the *outer* is a deep Saxon arch, measuring from the centre of its front to the inner porch eleven feet, its width twenty, and its height about eighteen. This porch is very magnificent: it has eight mouldings, ornamented with a variety of sculpture,

ture, which begins at the base, and continues round in a regular sweep to its opposite pedestal, without capital or any interruption. These mouldings vary in breadth; some are about ten inches, and others a foot and upwards. The *first* moulding (which is contiguous to the door) has a waving branch, with lateral tendrils. The *second* is covered with lozenges. The *third* exhibits histories from the Old Testament. On the *fourth* the branch and tendril are repeated, but of a smaller size. The *fifth* is a continuation of histories from the Old Testament. The *sixth* has lozenges and tendrils interwoven. The *seventh* exhibits histories from the New Testament.* And the *eighth* is adorned with tendrils.—The celebrated Mr. Addison, (who was one of the members in parliament for the borough of Malmesbury) on viewing this porch, declared, that it was the most complete work of the kind he had ever seen. The *inner* porch is also a Saxon arch: it is seventeen feet in length, twelve in width, and sixteen in height. On the sides of this porch are some small Saxon arches; above these are placed stone statues of the twelve apostles, six on each side, with an angel on each side stretched over their heads. There is a

* Some of the scriptural subjects are, The creation of Adam and Eve, their trespass, and expulsion from Paradise.—Christ and his Apostles eating the Paschal Supper, the crucifixion of Christ, his burial, resurrection, and ascension; and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles.—The historical sculpture consists of about eighty “bass-reliefs.” Many of them are in good condition. Others are much defaced, especially those towards the base of the arch; it may therefore be proper to hint, that the history begins at the left of the spectator.

room above the porches, said to have been the school-room belonging to the abbey. The immediate entrance into the church is nine feet in height, and five in width. It has three mouldings, similar to those in the outer porch; and above this portal seems to be a representation of the Deity on a throne, supported by angels. Just within this entrance (fixed in the wall, to the left) is a head, with a kind of crown on it; Catholics have been observed to treat this sculpture with great reverence; it is supposed to represent our Saviour wearing the crown of thorns. On advancing, we perceive the nave to be separated from the side iles by massive, round columns, with plain capitals, six in each rank. These columns support three rows of arches; the lowest and the highest somewhat pointed, and the central circular. Over one of the rows, on the southern side, a little stone structure projects from the wall, with an opening towards the body of the church, grated with iron bars. The vulgar opinion considers it as the monks' prison, in which the offender did public penance. One antiquarian says, that the design of it was for the abbot's household, from whence to view processions. Another thinks, it was appropriated to the use of the abbot himself. The ribs of the groins in the vaulting of the church, are ornamented with foliage and heads; this sculpture (in the judgment of Mr. Carter) is particularly elegant. The heads are supposed, by some, to represent the personages who were benefactors to this monastery.

monastery. The lower part of the altar piece is a solid wall, with a cornice, in which are carved griffins, dragons, and other grotesque figures.—This wall probably was the screen, which formerly separated the nave from the transept. In the centre of it is a trace of the door-way, which led into the transept. The seats in the chancel, on each side of the communion table, appear to have been the stalls, which belonged to the choir. In the middle of the church, at the left, as you go from the altar, are two seat doors, which have ancient carving, greatly admired by the virtuoso; also, in a seat nearly opposite, the carving is equally, if not more curious. The monuments of Meyldulph, Aldhelm, and other renowned persons, buried in this church,* have long since disappeared. But, in a small enclosure, in the south-east corner of the church, is a tomb, with an effigy laid upon it, as large as life, in royal robes, and a lion at the feet. It is named “King Athelstan’s Tomb.” Yet, we are not to infer from hence, that Athelstan was interred in this part of the abbey church, since William of Malmesbury affirms the contrary;† and agreeable to the testimony of this early historian, I am informed, by the Rev. Mr. Bisset, the vicar of Malmesbury, that some years ago, he was present, when what is called Athelstan’s Tomb was opened, and appearances

* Here lies John Gifford, founder of St. Benedict-College and Gloucester-Hall, Oxford. Angl. Sacra.

† See p. 40.

indicated that it was only a cenotaph. The late Dr. Mapson, of Tetbury, conjectured, that when the place of King Athelstan's interment, under the high altar, became ruinous, his monument might have been removed into that part of the church, where it now stands, in order to preserve it from the inclemency of the weather. The Doctor's conjecture is rendered the more probable by what Mr. Warner has remarked. "There is (says he) a considerable resemblance between this sculpture, and the figure of that monarch on the reverse of his famous seal, of which I have seen a cast from the original, in the possession of the late Gustavus Branden, esq;"*—Mr. Evelyn, son to the famous Evelyn, made drawings of King Athelstan's tomb, which were some time since shewed by Mr. Bryan to the Society of Antiquaries.†

In Athelstan's chapel is the following epitaph, on Lady Marshall:

"Stay, gentle passenger, and read thy doome.

"I am, thou must be dead.—

"In assured hope of a joyfull resurreccion, here rests deposited, all that was mortall of the religious and virtuous Lady Dame Cyscely Marshall, daughter of the Honourable Sir Owen Hopton, knt. late lieutenant of the Towre Royal;‡

* Warner's Excursion's from Bath, p. 229, 231.

† Auxil. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS.

‡ Buried at Stepney, September 26. 1591. His daughter Mary married William, the fourth Lord Chandos. She was buried at Stepney, October 23, 1624.—Stepney Register. Lysons's Envir. of London.—His daughter Anne, married first, Henry Lord Wentworth, of Nettlebed; her second husband was Sir W. Pope, the first Earl of Downe.—Gent. Mag. Nov. 1797. p. 919.

the faythful, modist, and loyall wife of Sir George Marshall, knt. Whether transeended in her more the ornaments that beautified a wife, a mother, a matrone, is still a question betwixte her all disconsolate husband, daughter, servants. Onely this is agreed upon all hands, such were her perfections in each state, that in vayne will any epitaph endeavour to delyneate them. What was her fayth, hope, charity, temperance, piety, patience, may (to better purpose) be expected from the trump of an archangell in the day of God's generall retribucon (retribution) then from the faynte, and flagging attribucons (attributions) of any particular penn.—To close all, with her close thies two spirituall eiaculacons (ejaculations.) *Miserere mei Deus, et Domine recipe animam meam.* (Have mercy upon me, O God, and receive my soul, O Lord) were the wings, whereon the last breath of this turtle mounted towards heaven. To whose sweete memory her sad mate hath devoted this poor monument, which,—Oh, let no prophane hand violate.

“ Emigravit 23 Apryll, Anno Salvat. 1625.”

The abbey register contains a curious memorandum, relating to one whose remains were also deposited in this chapel.

“ John Bucle, reputed to be a gypsie, deceased September 21, 1657, at John Peryn's house, upon the Ffosse, in Shipton parish, in Glocestershire; and was buried in King Athelstone's chapell by King Athelstone, and the Lady Marshall, within the abbie church, at Malmesbury. This buriall was September 23, 1657. Howbeit, he was taken up again by the meanes of Thomas Ivey, esq; who then lived in the abbie, and by the desires and endeavoures of others, out of the said chappell was removed into the church yarde, and there was re-buried neere the east side of the church poorch, October 7, 1657, in the presence of Thomas Ivey, of the abbie, esq; Pleadwell of Mudgell, esq; Rich. Whitmore, of Slaughter,

Slaughter, in the countie of Glocester, and Dr. Qui, of Malmesbury, with very many others."*

In the abbey church-yard are two epitaphs, which have attracted particular notice.

The *one* merely as it commemorates the untimely and melancholy fate of a girl, named Hannah Twynnoy, in the year 1703. She was a servant at the White-Lion inn, where was an exhibition of wild beasts, and among the rest a very fierce tiger, which she imprudently took a pleasure in teasing, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of its keeper. One day, whilst amusing herself with this dangerous diversion, the enraged animal, by an extraordinary effort, drew out the staple, sprang towards the unhappy girl, caught hold of her gown, and tore her to pieces.

“ In bloom of youth she’s snatch’d from hence,
She had not room to make defence;
For tyger fierce snatch’d life away,
And now she lies in a bed of clay,
Until the resurrection day.”

The *other* epitaph relates to the afore-mentioned Doctor Abia Qui, a man of great eminence in his profession, who died in the year 1675. It is said to have been one of the early productions of Oldham, the poet, who then lived in this neighbourhood.

“ He by whose charter thousands held their breath,
Lies here, the captive of triumphant death;
If drugs, or matchless skill, could death reclaim,
His *life* had been immortal as his *fame*.”

*. Appendix, Note XX.

The several stiles of architecture used in the remains of the abbey church just described, shew that the different parts were the work of different periods; but still *this* (as Mr. Hearne hath observed) does not determine the exact time when each was constructed.

The words of this eminent antiquarian are, " Though the several distant periods, when different modes of building for the purposes of religion took place, (after that their characters were fully settled) be pretty clearly ascertained, yet, alterations and improvement having been gradually made in the progress from one style of architecture to another, it is not possible to fix the date of any building of the intermediate time precisely, from the form of its parts; because, we naturally may suppose such edifices had somewhat of the *former* manner, which was not grown obsolete, and somewhat of the *latter*, which was not established; and if to this we add some changes in the original form of antiquated buildings by repairs, the new facings of stone, and other accidental variations from the first plan, there needs no other argument to shew, how difficult it is to know the precise æra, in which the several discordant parts of this, or any other antient building were erected, without some written document of absolute authority. But, however, it seems probable, that the remains of the circular arch of the western entrance into this church, as well as the great porch on the south side, whose members are so richly ornamented

mented with small bass-reliefs, are remaining members of the original stone structure; the building of which, it may be presumed, was begun in the A. D. reign of King Edgar, soon after he granted 974 his charter to this monastery."

Admitting, that certainty cannot be attained in regard to the present point, yet, from some particulars on record relating to the abbey, and other circumstances, we may be able to judge with probability as to the degree of antiquity to be ascribed to the respective parts of these majestic remains.

It is signified in Edgar's deed, that the abbey church, built at his expence, was raised under the direction of a person excellently qualified for such an undertaking. According to the Saxon mode, it was doubtless a strong edifice. Therefore, *part of the walls of the lower story, some of the large solid pillars which support the body of the church, and the fragment of the old tower, may be considered as members of the original structure.*—We have seen, that Mr. Hearne deems *the western and southern entrances, with their decorations, to be of the same high antiquity.**

* With respect to the southern entrance, some, indeed have been ready to conclude, that it is not a member of Edgar's structure, but was erected at a subsequent period, because this porch covers a part of the wall of the church, in which was formerly a window. But an eminent architect and antiquarian, who lately examined it, says, that the eastern side of the porch, which is of a prodigious thickness, has evidently received an addition since it was first constructed, probably for the sake of enlarging the school-room over it; so that originally it stood clear of the window. Therefore, the present appearance is no proof against the great antiquity of this entrance, and the admired sculpture which adorns it. As there are but few patterns of the state of sculpture in the early

Herman, (chaplain to King Edward the Confessor) who attempted to convert the abbey into a bishopric,* is said to have erected (at his own expence) "The Bell Tower,"† by which, ^{about 1057} probably, we are to understand the middle tower, as this contained a set of ten bells; whereas the western tower had only two. Now the former was supported by four lofty arches; consequently, *the two noble arches that are yet standing, at the east end of the nave, appear to have been built at this period.*

In the reign of King John, the premises of the abbey were extended;‡ and it may be presumed, that some alterations were made in the church. Then probably were introduced *the pointed arches*

early ages, the fine specimens Malmesbury Abbey-church affords, must be no small gratification to the antiquarian. It may be thought strange by some, that this elegant sculpture should be considered as executed at a period remarkable for ignorance. But, it is to be remembered, that very highly finished works in gold and silver, were the produce even of the darkest ages. St. Dunstan, who lived at the time Malmesbury Abbey-church was re-edified, had great fame in this branch of sculpture. Will. of Malm. And. vol. i. p. 89,

* Appendix, Note XXI.

† Auxil. Collect. for Wiltsh. MS. from Lel. Collect. vol. i. part. ii. p. 301.

‡ The castle (which doubtless was greatly damaged in the contests between King Stephen, and Henry of Anjou) was, by the permission of King John, razed for the convenience of the monks, that so the abbey might be enlarged, which daily increased in buildings and revenues. Camd. Britan. p. 97. This castle stood a little to the north-west of the conventual church,* partly on the spot at present called "The Abbey-Row." And here we may remark, that on the removal of the castle, probably a rank of buildings was raised for the use of the monks, or others connected with the monastery, and denominated "The Abbey-Row."

* The Bell inn, thus situated, is filed in a deed "The Castle-House."

blended

blended with the semi-circular, as seen in the lower story. and the upper story was also modelled agreeably to the taste of the age. Yet, we may suppose, that from veneration for antiquity, such parts of the fabric as were in good condition, were suffered to remain.†*

In the reign of Edward III. when the abbot became a peer of the realm, the church appears to have received further considerable alterations and embellishments; *as the handsome door-way near the northern transept, the large window in the lower story on the same side, the very lofty window at the west end, of which there is only a relic, the windows in the upper story, and other decorations within and without, which answer to the stile of that age.*

In the reign of Henry VIII. it being settled for the abbey church to be appropriated to the use of the parish, the arch which opened into the eastern end of the nave was walled up, and thus was formed *the present altar piece*. The western end being ruinous, was enclosed considerably within

* Such as differ in opinion from Mr. Hearne, in regard to the very great antiquity of the sculpture which adorns the western and southern entrances, may be inclined to think it was done in the reign of John, or in that of his father Henry II. for both these monarchs were benefactors to the abbey, sculpture flourished at this period, and the circular arch was not set aside. And. vol. i. p. 259. In Mr. Dallaway's Anecdotes of the Arts, the porch of Malmesbury is particularized as a fine specimen of that æra of the Saxon architecture, which immediately preceded the introduction of the next stile.

† In the upper story, to the fourth window from the east, are a number of large, circular Saxon ornaments, but westward there are none. From hence (an antiquarian has observed) we may judge, how far the old Saxon wall extends, and what part has been rebuilt.

the original entrance;* *a very large pointed window was placed in the centre, with a buttress on each side, and a square structure was erected over this window, of which there is only a fragment.*

An antiquary apprehends, that the structure was intended to strengthen the end of the nave. But others have supposed, that it was a small tower for bells, and being shattered in the civil wars, from that time the inhabitants began to use for this purpose an adjacent steeple, which had belonged to the decayed church of St. Paul.—*The two large windows in the lower story, on the southern side of the abbey-church,* may also be considered as one of the alterations then made in the building, to render it more commodious for the performance of divine service.

For the information of strangers who visit Malmesbury, it may be proper to observe, that from the approach to the town on the northern side, which is the Tetbury road, “the abbey-church is seen frowning in the pomp of massy architecture, on the brow of a hill, whose bank is beautifully covered with verdure. The lofty nave, with its ruined west end, and the noble arch on the east, exhibit a scene grand and singular!”—From the rising ground, a little to the south-west,

* Appendix, Note XXII.

the majestic fabric is seen towering above the tops of the trees.—The road leading from Malmesbury to Brinkworth, when you are about a mile from the town, affords a fine view of the southwest part of this abbey-church.

SECTION IV.

Some Account of the different Modes of Architecture used in religious Edifices, from the Time that the Saxons embraced Christianity—designed further to elucidate what respects Malmesbury Abbey-Church.

BEFORE I speak of Saxon architecture, it may not be amiss briefly to notice the state of architecture among the Britons, previous to, and on the arrival of the Saxons.

'Till the Roman invasion, the Britons seem to have been totally ignorant of architecture. But after they became subject to the Romans, they acquired a knowledge of this, and other arts connected with it. A change, which commenced through the efforts of that excellent governor Julius Agricola.

ABOUT
80

That the Britons, who were rovingly inclined, and wild, and therefore easily instigated to war, might become fond of a peaceful life, by tasting its pleasures, Agricola privately exhorted, and publicly assisted them to build houses, market-places, and temples; inciting them to exertion,
by

by commending the diligent, and reproving the slothful.*

It is said, that the island was famous for the excellence of its architects, &c. at the close of "the third century;" but that architecture, &c.

^{ABOUT}
³²⁴ began to decline in Britain, and also in other Roman provinces, partly in consequence of the building of the city Constantinople, which drew a number of the best artists from the west into the east.†

^{A. D.}
⁴²⁰ Britain being forsaken by the Romans, the Picts, and the Scots, in vast multitudes rushed in upon the inhabitants, plundered, and destroyed their towns and cities. The Saxons, from Germany, whom the Britons called in to their assistance, also spread devastation far and wide. Venerable Bede says, "That the island was so ravaged by the Saxons, or rather by the hand of God, using them as instruments of his righteous displeasure against the depraved Britons,† that there seemed to be a continued flame from sea to sea; public and private buildings fell in one common ruin." Thus the Britons were

* Ut (Britanni) dispersi ac rudes, eoq̄ue bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: (Agricola)—hortari privatim, adjuvare publicè, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes, &c.

† Constantine the Great, to erect a lasting monument to his glories, employed, on this occasion, the subject wealth, and labour of the Roman world; for the construction of the walls alone were allowed 2,500,000l. Gibbon.

‡ Not only Bede, who was a Saxon monk, but also Gildas, a British monk, speaks of the great depravity of manners which prevailed at this time among the Britons, and considers the dread calamities which beset them as divine judgments. Gild. de excidio Britannicæ.

again reduced to a state of ignorance in regard to the arts.

Christianity, which had been generally received in Britain long before the Romans left it,* after having been persecuted by the Romans,† and utterly extirpated by the Saxons, as far as their dominion extended,‡ began to obtain an influence over the Saxons themselves, by means of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who married
 a Christian princess of France. § A. D. 570

As the Saxons, at their arrival in England, knew little or nothing of architecture, doubtless, the earliest structures erected by them for Christian worship were very homely: such as the first church at Glastonbury is said to have been, viz. “That its walls were made of twigs, winded and twisted together.”|| When the Saxons became more skilful, the walls of their religious edifices were constructed of boards. This
 mode of building was perhaps general to A. D. 652
 or beyond that period.¶ But masonry ap-

* Appendix, Note XXIII.

† Many suffered martyrdom, of whom St. Alban was the first, in the persecution under Dioclesian. Kimb.

‡ It is very likely, that the monuments of the British churches were destroyed by the Saxons wherever they came. Rapin.

§ And. vol. i. p. 79.

|| Sammes.

¶ There was a time (says Bede) when there was not a stone church in the whole land, but the custom was to build them all of wood. Finan, the second bishop of Holy-Island, or Lindisfarn, in Northumberland, built a church there A. D. 652, for a cathedral, which was not of stone, but of wood, and covered with reeds, and so it continued to Eadbert's time, the seventh bishop.

pears

pears to have been revived in England towards "the close of this century," chiefly through Wilfrid, and Benedict Biscop. These prelates visited Italy,* and are said there to have acquired architectural knowledge in a high degree. The magnificent cathedral of Hexham, in Northumberland, was erected by Wilfrid:

ABOUT 676 Weremouth Abbey, by Biscop.† The masons and other artists (we are told) were procured from Italy,‡ &c. And this is very probable; for in the reign of Alfred the Great, when that monarch had resolved to rebuild his cities, churches, and monasteries, which had suffered devastation from the Danes, his historian Asser says, that he had a numerous multitude of artificers, collected from different nations, and many of them excellently skilled in their several arts.

It has been held, that the first religious edifices of stone, built by Saxon artificers, consisted only of upright walls, without arches or pillars; and this is not unlikely; since a long time elapsed, before they appear to have had a taste for archi-

* Will. of Malmesb. de gest. Pontif. lib. iii. p. 148. et seq.

† And. vol. i. p. 89.

‡ As Malmesbury Abbey-church, built in the time of Aldhelm, the second abbot,* about A. D. 675, was very noted, it is probable that workmen from the Continent also raised that structure, and consequently that it was not built of boards, (as is the opinion of some) but was a stone edifice.

* See a list of the abbots, particulars of the revenue of the monastery, &c. in the Appendix, Note * XIV

ecture.* And when they had acquired taste and skill, from an examination of such Roman buildings in England as had escaped the common ruin, and by an intercourse with the masons, &c. from the continent, their productions (in what is called *the Saxon style*) were doubtless for a season quite unequal to the fabrics, which had been raised by the hands of foreign artists.†

The distinguishing characteristics of the Saxon mode of building are, *very thick walls, massive pillars, with a kind of regular base and capital, and semi-circular arches over the doors, windows, &c.*

Respecting the origin of Saxon architecture, Bishop Warburton maintains, "That when the Saxon kings became Christians, their piety consisted chiefly in erecting churches at home, and performing pilgrimages abroad, especially to the Holy Land; and these spiritual exercises supported and assisted one another; for the most venerable, as well as the most elegant models of religious edifices, were then in Palestine. From these the Saxon builders took the whole of their ideas, as may be seen in comparing the drawings, which travellers have given us of the churches yet stand-

* The Anglo-Saxon nobles squandered away their ample revenues in low and mean houses. Will. of Malmesb.

† Agreeable hereto, an ingenious artist and antiquarian says, that he has found the sculpture, in the remains of the most early edifices, to be best executed. St. Paul's, in London, having been consumed by fire, was rebuilt in 1187, and the following year, on arches of stone; 'a wonderful work,' say the authors of the day. The workmen employed in the business were procured from France. And. vol. i. p. 260.

ing in that country, with the Saxon remains of what we find at home.”—But may we not reasonably suppose, that the Saxon architects derived their knowledge from each of the sources specified, and that their own invention made additions.

The mode of building used by the Normans in their religious edifices, for awhile after they had established themselves in England, is said nearly to have resembled *that* of the Saxons; was *solid and plain*. They sometimes, it seems, deviated from this rule, and *adorned the capitals of their pillars with carvings of foliage and animals, and their columns were decorated with small half columns united to them, and their surfaces ornamented with spirals, squares, lozenge net work, and other figures, either engraved, or in relievo.**

The style of architecture which followed, had for its peculiar characteristic *the pointed arch*. In regard to the origin of this style, antiquaries have entertained different sentiments.

Sir Christopher Wren asserts, that the pointed arch was of Arabian extraction, and introduced into Europe by some persons returning from the Crusades.

Bishop Warburton accounts for its rise thus—“That when the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the old inhabitants, had ripened their wits, and inflamed their mistaken piety, they invented what

* Sculpture of this kind adorns the west front of Malmesbury Abbey-church.

is called the Gothic or Saracenic architecture." He adds, "that this northern people, having been accustomed during the gloom of Paganism, to worship in groves, when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously contrived to make them resemble groves; and with what skill and success they executed the project, by the assistance of Saracen architects, appears from hence, that no attentive spectator ever viewed a regular avenue of well grown trees, intermixing their branches over head, but presently put him in mind of the long vista, through a Gothic cathedral. As to *the form of the arch*, how could it be otherwise than pointed, when the workmen were to imitate that curve which branches of two opposite trees make by their insertion?" The conjectural opinions which abound in the works of this ingenious writer, are in general better adapted to amuse the fancy of the superficial reader, than to satisfy the mind of the sober enquirer. Therefore we hope to be excused when we affirm, that a cursory review of the history of the art, will afford us a more natural method of accounting for the introduction of the leading peculiarities of the Gothic style. We shall find that it was not the invention of one man, nor was it brought to perfection in the course of a single century; agreeable to the opinion of an ingenious artist,* who thus expresses himself: "Our pointed-arch style

* J. Carter, Esq. F. A. S.

of architecture, *nicknamed* Gothic, appears to have emerged by accident, and incidental changes in construction and method, and to have arisen from the embers of the architecture in use among us, during the æra of the Saxons." This species of architecture made its first appearance towards the close of the reign of HENRY II. For a time, some semicircular arches were retained, and mixed with arches which were only a little pointed and raised on short, solid, round columns. But in the reign of HENRY III. the circular arch gave place to the pointed, and the massive column made way for the slender pillar.* The cathedral church of Salisbury begun early in his reign, and finished in the year 1258, was entirely in this style. The beautiful peculiarities which stamp the sacred edifices of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are the steeples with spires† and pinnacles; the pillars formed of an assemblage of light columns; the lofty windows, sometimes towering to a point, sometimes (especially at the east and west ends of

* This lighter Gothic style of building partly owed its origin to a band of ingenious workmen, of various countries, who formed societies under the blessing of the Roman pontiff, calling themselves 'Free Masons.' They offered their services to opulent princes, and were much attached to the bountiful Henry, and to his magnanimous successor Edward I. Andr. vol. i. p. 450.

† It is probable that the spire of Malmesbury church, which was of such a vast height,* was erected in the fourteenth century, in the reign of Edward III. or in that of Richard II. when the abbot received additional honours.†

churches) much enlarged, divided into several lights by stone mullions, and always filled with glass stained with lively colours, to represent saints and martyrs, kings, queens, and benefactors.*

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, began the erection of the abbey church of Bath; the last building of any magnitude raised in this country, in a style purely Gothic.†

At the end of the sixteenth century was erected, that small edifice HENRY VII.'s chapel, adjoining to Westminster Abbey. It is a beautiful specimen of that height of elegance to which the Gothic order arrived, esteemed equal, if not superior to any thing of the kind in Europe. It ought to be mentioned, that foreign artists were called in to assist in executing the work. Pietro Torregiano was retained by HENRY VIII. to finish his father's tomb.‡

In the latter part of the reign of HENRY VII. a new kind of low pointed arch grew much in use. It was described from four centres, was very round at the haunches, and the angle at the top was very obtuse. From this time Gothic architecture began to decline, and a strange mixture of the orders ensued, in the age of ELIZABETH, and of JAMES I.

* And. *ibid.*

† Monthly Review enlarged, for Aug. 1800. p. 426.

‡ And. vol. i. pt. 2d. p. 340.

The whimsical Chinese style produced by the ill-judged combination of the classic orders of antiquity, with the Gothic, paved the way for the revival of the Grecian style in its purity, by the celebrated Inigo Jones, in the reign of CHARLES I. since which period, the pointed-arch style has never had its excellencies so fairly appreciated, or its properties so well investigated, as at the present time.

“ So fell the monkish fane, and we might deem,
 Were here and there not ivied ruins spread,
 It ne’er had been, or but a first sleep’s dream;
 It fell, and doomed to hide her banish’d head.
 For ever Gothic architecture fled,
 Forewarn’d she left in one most beauteous place,*
 That much might of her ancient fame be said,
 Her pendent roof, her window’s branchy grace,
 Pillars of cluster’d reeds and tracery of lace.”†

The foregoing sketch of the progress of Gothic architecture plainly shews that its fundamental principles were slowly developed, and that it was only after a variety of unsuccessful attempts, that the few perfect specimens of the art which we possess, were achieved.

An examination of the construction of those buildings which were raised before the Gothic style was brought to perfection, (in which number Malmesbury Abbey is included) might afford

* Henry VII.’s chapel, at Westminster.

† Folbrooke’s *Economy of Monastic Life*, Part iii.

considerable assistance, in tracing the origin of its leading peculiarities.

The pointed-arch, which is the principal feature in this mode of architecture, has given rise to a variety of conjectures. The following remarks of an ingenious writer in the Monthly Review, are not *merely* conjectural; therefore no apology can be required for their insertion. "The massive architecture of the Grecian buildings was first rejected by the later Romans, and arches from column to column were substituted in its place.—This was the model of the old or Saxon Gothic; being with semi-circular arches. The more elegant modern, or Norman Gothic, was the second change, and arose from the greater facility with which pointed arches were constructed, wanting but little centering, and still less ponderous stones. We have a convincing proof that facility of construction was the circumstance then mostly considered, in many of the greatest works of this country; for the soft Norman stone was brought here for the purpose of erecting them. Massive and strong stone being then totally disused in building, no other mode of covering a void was left than by the application of arches; and in the improved Gothic, we see that arch judiciously adopted, which was most easily executed, and which had the least lateral pressure. To resist what little pressure it had, appropriate buttresses were requisite, sometimes converted into towers at the angles. Thus by a gradual progress, the rise
and

and perfection of Gothic forms, affecting the mass of a building are naturally explained; and no other than a pyramidal form could well result from a combination of such parts, being in fact, a great pyramid formed of so many less pyramids. The architect being furnished with a knowledge of the parts, it becomes his province to combine them in the best manner to form one beautiful mass: suggesting only such variations in those parts as the nature of them will admit, without prejudice to their fitness in respect to utility or construction.”*

This reasoning is ingenious, and those abbeys that were built before the modern Gothic was brought to perfection afford a circumstance in confirmation of it;—for whilst the lower parts retain the old Saxon style, the upper parts (of course built of lighter materials) approach to the pyramidal form. But it is highly probable that though an attention to convenience occasioned the introduction of the pointed arch, yet the first idea of it arose (agreeable to the opinion of many) from the observation of its accidental occurrence in the intersection of circular arches, used by way of ornament in Saxon buildings. The western extremity of Malmesbury Abbey, (deemed the oldest part of the present remains) is ornamented in this manner. Many useful and ingenious discoveries have been owing to fortuitous circumstances, and

* Monthly Review enlarged, vol. xx. p. 274.

it is not improbable but the Gothic arch is of the number. Among the peculiarities of this style, the spire also deserves our notice. Writers have been a good deal at a loss to account for its introduction. The most probable conjecture is that of Mr. Murphy, an ingenious artist.* He apprehends that spires were first used, when the dead began to be buried in churches. Cemeteries among the Egyptians, and other ancient nations, were denoted by pyramids and columns. Hereupon, when religious edifices were appropriated to the purpose of burying-places, it was very natural for such a mode of distinguishing them to be used.† Soon after the Reformation, Gothic architecture fell into disesteem. As it was admirably adapted to promote the influence of that gloomy superstition which was professed by those whom it appears to have been invented and improved,‡ it probably became less admired and less imitated, as that superstition lost its sway over the minds of mankind.

* The author of a discourse on Gothic architecture, prefixed to a work entitled, "Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Views of the Church of Batalha, in the Province of Estremadura, in Portugal."

† For other arguments in support of this opinion, we must refer the curious reader to Mr. Murphy's work.

‡ M. Felibien observes that architecture, as well as other arts, in France, were cultivated chiefly by the Monks, in the earlier ages.¶ And in England, some of our cathedrals (among which was Gloucester,) were planned by ecclesiastics.

At present a taste for the Gothic style of architecture seems to be reviving in this country ; and some eminent artists have expressed their approbation of it in strong terms. Sir William Chambers asserts, that “ To those usually called Gothic architects we are indebted for the first considerable improvements in construction : there is a lightness in their works, an art and boldness of execution to which the antients never arrived, and which the moderns comprehend and imitate with difficulty.”* When we compare the Gothic style with the Grecian, and attend to the characteristic traits of each, we shall find that the one is distinguished by sublimity, the other by beauty. In a perfect Gothic building, the tops of the windows are pointed, the projecting parts are ornamented with turrets and buttresses, and the whole presents to the mind the idea of a compound pyramid. In a Grecian building, the windows are square, there are no spires or pinnacles to fatigue the eye, nor any irregularities to affect the uniformity of the whole. The one excites astonishment, the other delight. The outline of a Gothic structure is bolder and more varied than that of a Grecian, consequently the former appears to the greatest advantage when viewed at a distance ; the latter affords most pleasure when closely examined.

* Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture, p. 24.

SECTION V.

A Description of some ancient Buildings, and other Remains of Antiquity situated in and near Malmesbury.

BESIDES the ruins of the abbey church, Malmesbury contains some smaller and less important remnants of its former greatness.—Though most of these are at present too inconsiderable to attract the attention of the traveller, yet it would be improper to pass them by without some notice.

Of these we shall first give some account of the building still known by the name of the *Abbot's House*; as from its proximity to the abbey it will, after that structure, be most likely to interest the curiosity of the antiquarian.

THE ABBOT'S HOUSE.

A little to the north-east of the abbey church is a building called the *Abbot's House*, now divided into separate tenements. The superstructure is said to have been erected by a descendant of Mr. Stumpe, the clothier, in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH. The lower part of this edifice is of much higher antiquity, as is evident from the pointed windows, ribbed arches, &c. observable

in the interior construction. From the stone gutters which project a considerable way up the windows, it is apparent that the present floor is five or six feet above the original one. On the wall in the outer court are some Saxon roses. There is a gateway still remaining, leading to the Abbot's House, which is much more curious than any thing in the building itself. This gateway is small, and is terminated above by a circular arch; over which is placed something like a coat of arms, with figures resembling *fleurs de lis* carved in the stones on each side of it, by way of supporters. The manner in which this sculpture is executed seems to indicate that it was not the work of a very distant, or barbarous age.

In a work that appears to have been written in 1727, it is said, that at the upper end of Long Newton, near the Old Manor House, (about three miles from Malmesbury,) is a fountain of free-stone, from whence water was brought in pipes to the abbey;* and that some of these pipes were found in the seventeenth century.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

What remains of the parish church of St. Paul,† stands in the southern side of the abbey cemetery.

* Newton Church was formerly a chapel of ease to this monastery.

† "The body of the old parochie church (of St. Paul) standing in the west end of the church yarde is cleane taken down. The east end is converted in AULAM CIVICAM," (into a town-hall.) *Lel. Itin.* But it appears from one of the "Hundred Books" in Malmesbury, that it ceased to be such about the year 1623.

This relic hath for a long time been used for common purposes. Near the spot on which stood the high altar, is a lavatory, or stone basin, in which the priest washed his hands before the consecration of the elements; a ceremony founded on Psal. xxvi. 6. There are some remains of a handsome Gothic window, fronting the east. The steeple which belonged to St. Paul's, contains the bells used for divine service, and on other occasions. In this steeple the vicar of Malmesbury is still inducted.* Opposite St. Paul's on the southern side, is the old vicarage-house.

THE CHAPEL HOUSE.

The building called the Chapel House, is situated in the western environ of Malmesbury, styled Burnivale.† It has been inhabited by paupers time immemorial. In Burnivale, according to tradition, there once was a nunnery;‡ and

* In the Fee Farm Roll of the county of Wilts, in the Augmentation Office, there is an account of the Rectory of St. Paul. Its tythes were then worth 9l. 18s. 10d. There is likewise a particular respecting a lease of the Rectory of Malmesbury, to Basil, John and James Stumpe, for the term of their lives, at the said yearly rent of 9l. 18s. 10d.

† Perhaps it was thus denominated from its vicinity to the river, and its situation in a valley. The Saxon word *BURNA*, signifies a river, or fountain. Bailey's Dict.

‡ "Sum hold opinion that there was sum tyme a nunnery wher the Hermitage now stondith, in the dike of the toun, at the weste ende of the old parochie church." Lel. Itin. No other author mentions this hermitage. Perhaps, Leland means that near the spot where the Chapel House stands, was a structure which bore the name of the Hermitage, as being on the site of Meyldulph's solitary cell, which is supposed to have been situated in this place.

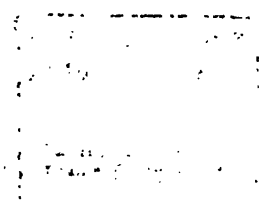
it is probable that the poorhouse just noticed was a part of the chapel of that convent. This opinion derives support from the designation of this structure,* and from the remains of two windows, which indicate the style of the building to have been similar to that of the oldest parts of the abbey church. But what gives additional probability to the idea is a curious relic of antiquity, which seems to have stood neglected for several ages, in a corner of one of the lower rooms. This curiosity is a small stone vase and pillar, placed in a niche, which appears to have been a *lavatory*, though it has been considered as a baptismal font, but it is evidently too small for that purpose.—The basin is about ten inches wide, and very shallow. It is supported by a column of an octangular form, with a capital and pedestal, which appear to have been adorned with curious sculpture, now almost obliterated.

THE WHITE-LION INN.

Part of the walls of this inn are of a very extraordinary thickness; and are probably the remains of an *hospitium*, belonging to the monastery.† Near the entrance is a small stone vase, fixed in

* In a deed dated the 8th Charles I. 1632, this house is styled “Lady Chapel;” therefore the appellation is not very modern.

† There is a tradition that some workmen who were concerned in building the abbey, lodged at an inn which bore the same name, and stood on the same spot with the White-Lion.

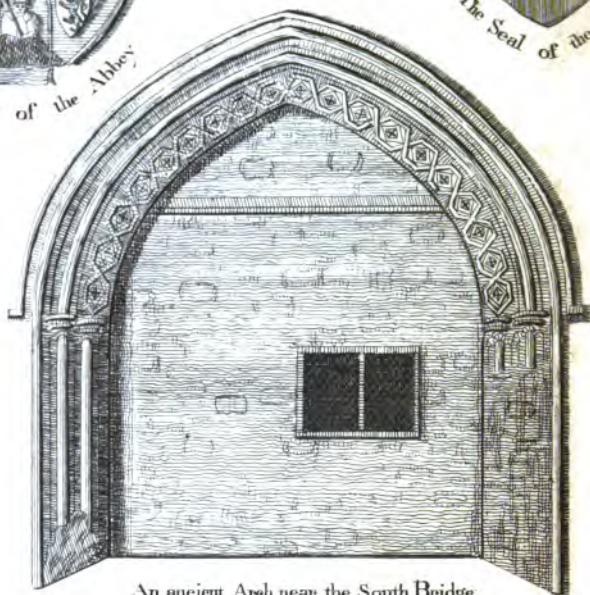




The Arms of the Abbey



The Seal of the Abbey



An ancient Arch near the South Bridge.



the wall, which seems to have been a receptacle for *holy water*. A pane of stained glass is preserved in the kitchen window, containing a representation of a lion *badly drawn*, having round it the words "**Lord Mercy.**" This relic appears to be very ancient. There was also in the front of the inn, over the principal gateway, a small figure carved in wood, designed to represent an abbot; as may be inferred from the mitre on the head. This was not long since taken down, when the building was repaired.

THE ALMSHOUSE.

This edifice has a curious ancient arch near the entrance. Between the years 1263 and 1287, or it may be at an earlier period, there was at Malmesbury an hospital (of the order) of St. John of Jerusalem,* occupied by a prior, brethren and sisters,† bearing habits, and signs of the order,‡ and having a chapel and sacraments. This appears from a decree made by Constantine, official

* The knights of this order came into England, and had a house built for them in London, in 1100, and from a mean beginning, obtained great wealth, honours, and exemptions. Tanner's pref. p. 24.

† As the office of the sisters of Jerusalem, was to be nurses to the sick pilgrims—other charitable women, in several parts of Christendom, made it their business also to assist, and take care of the sick and indigent people. The similitude of their vocation, was probably the inducement of their assuming the habit of the sisters of Jerusalem; and probably made them choose to reside in or near the preceptories of the hospitaliers. Collinson, vol. iii. p. 97.

‡ They wore a black habit with a white cross upon it. Tanner *ibid.*

of Walter, then Lord Bishop of Sarum, between the vicar of the parish of St. Paul, Malmesbury, and the master and brethren of the said hospital, about tythes; under the office seal, and seal of the abbot and convent of Malmesbury, who were patrons of the church.* This hospital was situated near the south bridge,† consequently the aforementioned arch, may be deemed a relic of the edifice, which belonged to that religious order. Here too stood the house of British nuns, which is said to have been under the
A. D.
 603† jurisdiction of Dinoh, abbot of Bangor.

At a little distance to the south of the Alms-house, stands a private dwelling called *Burton-Hill Chapel*. It still retains fragments of some pointed windows, which render it probable that it might have formed a part of some religious edifice. This conjecture is strengthened by the following passage from Leland: "Sum say that ther was a nunnery toward the park longging to the abbate a litle without the toun in the way to Chippenham."

* From the register-book of the abbey of Malmesbury preserved in the library of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The record in the register indeed has no date, but from an examination of the bishop's register office at Salisbury, it seems that only two prelates of the name of Walter, sat in that see previous to the reformation. These were Walter de la Wyle, who was consecrated in 1263, and Walter Scammel, who became Bishop of Salisbury, in 1284, and died in 1287.

† Lel. Itin.

‡ Grose's Antiquities.

About half a mile to the north-east of the town, is a farm house named *Whitchurch*; on or near the scite of which a building is said to have stood, which bore the appellation of White Church. It perhaps belonged to the Carthusian monks, who were also stlyed White Monks, from their white habits. It has been suggested however, that the church derived its denomination from the circumstance of divine service having been celebrated in it on Whit-Sunday. The preceding structure has no relics of antiquity in or near it: but there is a small orchard contiguous to it, which in an old deed bears the name of Chapel Close.

THE WORKHOUSE

Situated in Holloway, is an ancient building, in which are found the remains of some pillars which indicate its former consequence. On one of the walls in the court-yard are two small pieces of sculpture, representing a calvary cross and an angel; whence it has been inferred, that this house (as well as the White-Lion) was formerly an *hospitium* to the abbey. It was here, according to tradition, that HENRY VIII. and his retinue were entertained by Mr. Stumpe, the clothier, on their return from hunting in Bredon Forest. From the situation and appearance of the edifice, it is probable, that this was the Banqueting House* in
which

* See page 28 and 29. On a spot not far from this fabric and contiguous to the town wall, I am informed there stood, in the memory of man, a summer-house,

which CHARLES I. was also entertained by the corporation in the time of the civil wars.

THE TOWN WALL.

Leland in describing the state of the fortifications of this town, about the middle of the sixteenth century, says: "in the toune be 4 gates, by the names of Est, West, North, and South, ruinous al. The walles in many places stond ful up, but are now very feble. Nature hath dikid the toune strongely."* Neither of these gates at present remain. The eastern gate situated in Hol-loway was the last which was standing, and that was taken down by order of the commissioners of the turnpike road in the year 1778. There was a gate named Postern Gate,† a little to the south-west of St. Paul's church, the remains of which were removed in 1794, by Mr. R. Robins, of Malmesbury. Very near to the abbey stood an old arch or gateway which was destroyed by an accident in August, 1799. It probably belonged to some of the offices of the monastery, though it has been supposed to have been connected with the fortifications.

houfe, (which perhaps belonged to the Banqueting Houfe) in which it is said the king took a short repose on the night of his escape to Cirencester.

* Itiner. vol. ii.

† Postern gates or Sallyports, in fortification, are underground passages leading from the inner to the outer works, designed for the conveyance of soldiers or artillery. *English Encyclopædia* vol. ix. p. 182. The gateway above noticed was probably erected after the subterraneous works had been destroyed and improperly called by the same name.

At

At the entrance of the town from Cirencester, the principal relics of the walls are to be found; forming grand and massive boundaries on each side of the road. The great height, winding direction, and fine masonry which these ruins exhibit, cannot fail to arrest the attention of the traveller. It is impossible accurately to ascertain the period at which these walls were erected.—There is, however, room for conjecture that they might have formed a part of the fortifications raised by the Bishop of Salisbury, in the reign of King STEPHEN.*

At a small distance from the base of this wall, about six feet beneath the surface of the earth, a substance has been discovered, which has been supposed to be vitrified matter,† and it has been imagined that the place was formerly encompassed with a *vitrified bank* or *vallum*. Some specimens of this curious substance are in the possession of E. Wilkins, esq; at Malmesbury.

There is a well denominated the *Castle Well*, which is supposed to have belonged to the famous castle erected by Roger, Bishop of Sarum. It is situated on the summit of a field, commonly known by the name of Mundane's Close, and from

* See p. 25.

† Antiquarians have been at a loss to account for the origin of this remarkable kind of matter: considerable quantities of which have been discovered in the Highlands of Scotland.—Appendix, Note XXIV.

thence the well has sometimes been called Mundane's Well. It is about three hundred feet N.N.W. of the abbey church. A master builder who has examined this well, remarks that it is very large, of great depth, and the workmanship neatly executed. It has been covered over for several years on account of its having been made a receptacle for ordure; in consequence of which the water in the neighbouring wells became spoiled.

Near the west front of the abbey, not far from this well, is the gable end of an edifice, which is reported to have been a moiety of the castle.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, WESTPORT.

This church, of which we shall give an account hereafter, is comparatively a modern edifice. We shall here only notice the *font*, which appears to be very antique. It is of an octangular form, ornamented with sculpture, and supported by a mutilated column. It probably belonged to the old church which stood on, or near this spot.

A little to the west of this church is an ancient pointed arch, forming a doorway and part of a window, which seem to have been the relics of a chapel.

At the corner of a street, formerly called Milk-Street, near the road to Sherston, stands a house which is denominated *St. Hellen's*, on the same spot where formerly stood St. Hellen's Chapel. In
the

the wall of the garden belonging to this house, is fixed a calvary cross.

Of *Roman antiquities* in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, we have but little to communicate. The great Roman road, usually called the Foss, runs about two miles north of the town. A field, called *Cam's Hill*, situated about a mile to the south of Malmesbury, exhibits two enclosures which appear to have been a part of the scite of a Roman camp. The largest of these inclosures is perfectly square; each side measuring about one hundred and twenty feet. Adjoining to it is the smaller one, which is of an oblong figure, being about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and ninety or one hundred in breadth. Whether these inclosures really were the scite of a camp, may admit of some question. There are, however, several circumstances that render the conjecture probable. The name *Cam's Hill* appears to have belonged to the field time immemorial, and there can be little doubt but it is a corruption of the term *Camp Hill*, (q. d. *Mons Castrensis*.) This field is moreover the highest ground in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, and consequently resembles the situations in which the Roman conquerors of Britain usually encamped. We may add, that at the bottom of the hill runs one of the parent streams of the Avon, and there are still to be perceived the remains of a road, or embankment passing along the side of the field down to the water.

Adjoin-

Adjoining to Cam's Hill is a field called *Castle Ground*, in which is a circular inclosure where perhaps, in former times, stood a castle. Neither history, nor tradition afford us any information relative to the age, or people to which this castle belonged. Its situation, however, renders it not improbable that it was a frontier castle of the kingdom of Wessex, during the existence of the Saxon heptarchy; and what adds to the likelihood of this supposition is, that very large stones have been dug up within the limits of this circle.

This place is also called *Burnt Ground*; particularly in a grant from CHARLES I. to R. Bennett, esq; dated 1628. Tradition reports that a battle was fought here between King STEPHEN and the Empress MAUD,* when probably this castle was destroyed by fire, and the spot from that circumstance acquired the appellation of *Burnt Ground*.

THE MARKET CROSS.

Crosses were formerly erected in market-places, with a view to excite devotion.† Malmesbury has a curious monument of this kind, a little to

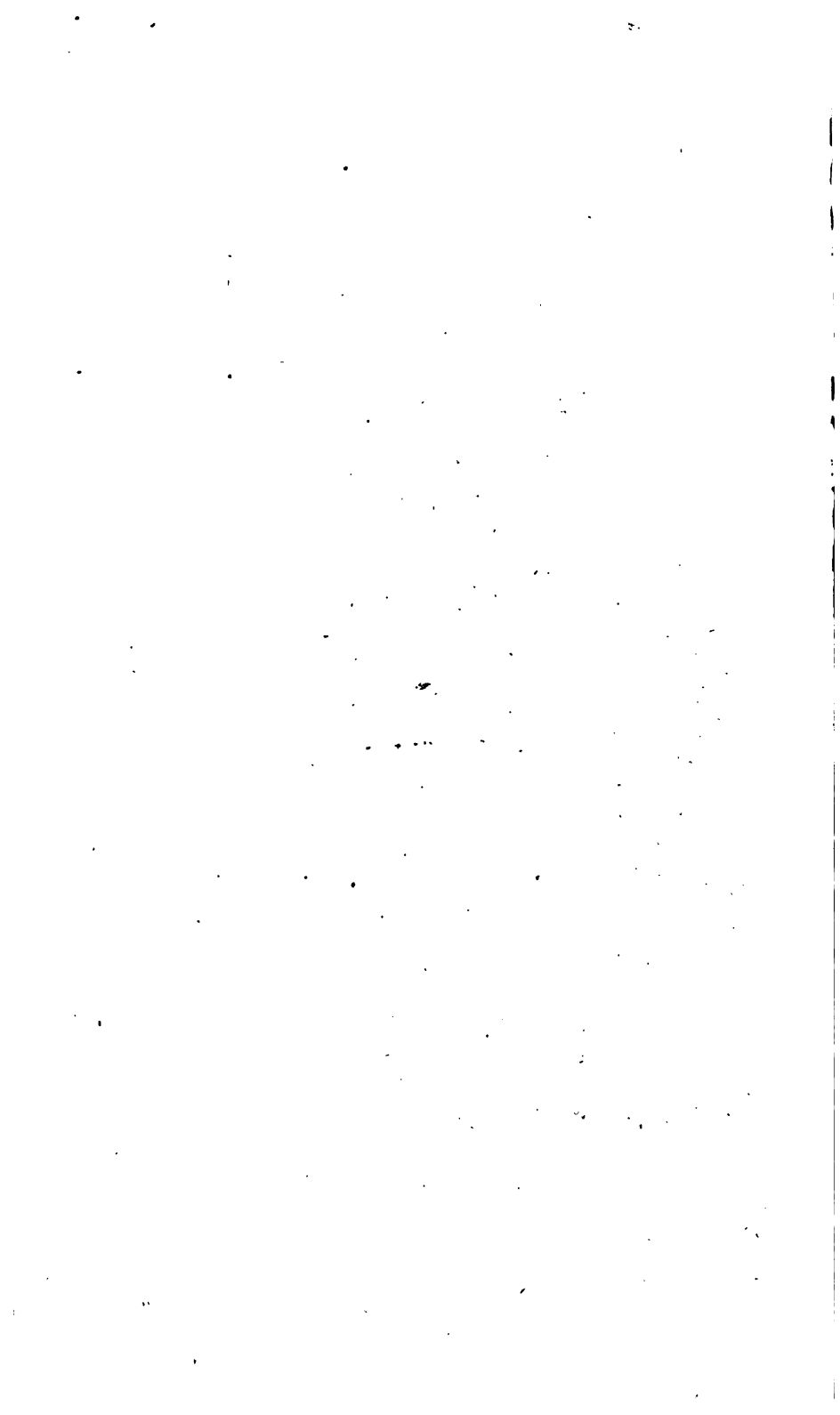
* See p. 26, &c.

† "The original intention of erecting crosses, whether in churchyards or in public roads, was to remind passengers of the meritorious cross and passion of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the duty incumbent on them to pray for the souls of their departed brethren. Formerly there was scarce a village or hamlet but had one or more of these pious MEMORIALS. Some of them were inscribed with the names of the erectors, and with admonitions to the devout pilgrim. Sermons were frequently delivered from them." Collinson's *Hist. of Somersetsh.* vol. i. p. 224.



J. Taylor Junr. sculp.

*The Market Cross at Malmesbury
taken 1801.*



the south of the abbey. I have noticed the cross last, as being of less antiquity than the remains before mentioned. But I have given a plate of this structure, because it is esteemed the chief ornament of the town, the abbey excepted. The cross is thus described by Leland: "There is a right fair and costely peace of worke in the market place, made al of stone, and curiously vouldid for poore market folkes to stande dry when rayne cummith. Ther be 8 great pillers and 8 open arches, and the work is 8 square: one great pillar in the middle berith up the voute."* He says, that "the men of the towne made this peace of work *in hominum memoriâ*,"† or towards the close of the fifteenth century.

This structure is, as Leland says, of an octangular form, and is much enriched with sculpture. On the turret, in the centre (supported by eight octangular flying buttresses) are a crucifix and several statues. The variety and elegance of the carving with which this building is embellished, have often been deservedly admired. This curious piece of antiquity was, not long since, in danger of falling into decay, but it has, by the liberality of the Earl of Suffolk, and Lady Northwich, been carefully repaired in the original style.

* Itiner. vol. ii.

† Id.

SECTION VI.

*Of the Borough—King Athelstan's Charter—
Confirmations and new Grants of Charters—
Of the Returns to Parliament for the Borough
—Extracts from Domesday-Book—Notices re-
lating to the Manor.*

THE borough of Malmesbury is among the most ancient in the kingdom, having been incorporated by Edward the Elder, about the year 916. The privileges bestowed on the town by this monarch were confirmed to them by his son and successor, King Athelstan, in 939.

The following is the substance of Athelstan's charter,* as contained in the preamble to that granted by King William III.—“ I, Athelstan, King of England, do grant for myself, and my successors, to the burgesses of the borough of Medulfusberg and their successors, that they shall have and enjoy all their functions and free customs, as they held them in the time of Edward, my father. And I command all under my government, that they do them no injury; and that they be free from the charge of *Burghbote*, *Brig-*

* This is apprehended to be the earliest charter extant; that granted by King Edward, being in all probability not now discoverable.—Caley's MS.

bote, Wardwhite, Horngeld, and Scot. And I give and grant to them, that royal heath of five hides of land,* near my town of Norton, for their aid given me in my battle against the Danes.

“Signed with my seal, in the presence of Edmund, my brother, by the advice of Wolsin my chancellor, and Odo my treasurer, and Godwin my standard bearer, who procured this for the burgesses.”†

At present it would probably be a fruitless task to endeavour to discover the nature of the constitution of the corporation of Malmesbury, in the days of Athelstan. His charter does not, like those granted in modern times, prescribe any particular forms for the interior civil government of the borough. It is merely a grant of lands and privileges to a pre-existing body of men, characterized as the king's “burgesses of the borough of Medulfusberg.” As nothing but conjectures can therefore be offered on this subject, those who feel interested in it may judge for themselves, whether it is probable that there were from the beginning different orders of burgesses; or that the privileges granted *them* were equally enjoyed by *all the members of the corporation*.

* As the quantity of land signified by the term *hida*, a hide is uncertain, and was probably arbitrary; it is impossible at present, to determine with accuracy, how far the heath here mentioned extended. It now consists of about five hundred acres; but some enclosures have perhaps been taken out of it, in more modern times.

† Appendix, Note XXV.

The primary institution of boroughs was connected with the feudal system: but though these communities were formed on the principles of feudal policy, yet the effects they had on the state of civil society were such as to weaken, and at length destroy the influence of that system over customs and manners, in those countries where they were introduced.

Corporate bodies, as they elect the major part of the members of one of the branches of legislature, may be considered as forming an important adjunct of the British constitution. Montesquieu acutely observes, that "on reading the admirable work of Tacitus, on the manners of the Germans, it will be perceived, that from them the English drew the idea of their political government. That beautiful system was derived from the forests."* A few observations on the origin of boroughs will serve to corroborate the idea of this ingenious Frenchman.

Among the ancient Germans courage and skill in the art of war, procured for the possessors of them a superiority over their followers in a time of peace. The victorious chief spent his days in idle state, whilst the multitude were employed in the drudgery, necessarily attendant on the task of procuring food for themselves and their masters.

* " Si l'on veut lire l'admirable ouvrage de Tacite sur les mœurs des Germains, on verra que c'est d'eux que les Anglois ont tiré l'idée de leur gouvernement politique. Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois." *L'Esprit des Loix.*

When any portion of territory was conquered, the fertility of which induced a wandering tribe of this description to settle in it; a division of it was made among the leaders of the tribe, in such a manner as to leave them dependant on their general. By these subordinate chiefs, each portion was subdivided among their followers, who oftentimes had another class of tenants under them.—These divisions at first, were only for the life of the holder, or proprietor, and at his death the fief reverted to the chief. But at length another order of things took place. On the death of a feudal lord, if he left a son behind him, the chief contenting himself with a fine, suffered the son to inherit his father's possessions. A similar mode of proceeding was observed among other classes of tenants, and thus a feudal aristocracy became completely established. But under this system, the lower orders of the community possessed no landed property; and were, in fact, little better than slaves to the feudal proprietors. The oppressions under which they groaned, enervated their minds, and prevented them from acquiring courage to shake off the tyranny of their lords.*

This probably was the state of society in England, at the time that Egbert put a period to the Saxon heptarchy. During the reign of Egbert's immediate successors, commerce began to be cul-

* Vid. Dr. Stuart's *Hist. Dissertation on the Antiquity of the Eng. Constitution*. Pt. ii. Sect. 1.

tivated in England; and some of those monarchs having been wise enough to observe the advantages that flowed from it, patronised in a particular manner those who exercised it,* and thus diminished, and after a time, in a great degree annihilated the power of the feudal lords.

One of the first steps that was taken for the encouragement of commerce, was the institution of boroughs. These at first, probably were only bodies of tradesmen in large towns, incorporated by a royal charter, which exempted them from the jurisdiction of the feudal lords. By this exemption, the members of corporations had their situation in society very much improved; for whereas many of them had probably been tenants of the very lowest class, they now became in their corporate capacity, tenants of the king only.—But this was not the sole advantage that arose from the institution. The acquirement of courage followed the restoration of liberty; and thus the monarch, who erected corporations, raised a number of active and zealous defenders of the country against its violent and piratical enemies the Danes. The gift of lands to corporations appears in early times at least, to have been in general, subsequent to their first institution. This seems to have been

* King Athelstan seems to have shewn as much regard for commerce as most monarchs. He enacted a law, whereby a merchant who had made three voyages, became entitled to the rank of a Thane. “*Et si mercator tamen sit, qui ter trans altum mare per facultates proprias abeat, ille postea jure thani sit dignus.*”—Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, p. 71.

the case at Malmesbury; for we do not find that the burgesses were possessed of any lands until the donation of Athelstan, though they were incorporated about twenty-three years before the date of his charter. It is probable, that in ancient times, every inhabitant of a borough became intitled to a share in the privileges of the corporation; for there is a Saxon law, whereby *villains*, who had remained in a privileged town, during a year and a day, obtained their liberty.*

Hence it appears that the introduction of commerce was attended with the happiest effects on the state of society. As an eminent writer remarks, "A road was thus opened for the meanest in the community to attain to its honours; and while inferior orders were animated with the prospect of bettering their condition, the offices and purposes of society were performed with vigour. The activity and ardour with which different ranks prosecuted their different employments, communicated improvement to the community; and men advanced in civility, and in the arts of of life."†

From the time of Athelstan, the history of the borough is much interwoven with that of the abbey; since it is probable, that nearly the whole

* "Si servi permanferint sine calumaia per annum et diem in civitatibus nostris, vel in burgis in muro vallatis, vel in castris nostris, a die illa liberi efficiuntur, et liberi a jugo servitutis suæ sint in perpetuum. Wilkins, p. 229. Ang. Sacr. tom. i. p. 261.

† Dr. Stuart on the Eng. Constitution, Pt. iii. p. 186.

town belonged to it; for there are still extant grants of seignorial property within the borough, to the abbot and convent; and also various instances of *their* letting on lease, houses and lands to particular persons, which *now* belong to the corporation.

The burgesses of Malmesbury, in early times, seem to have risen into considerable importance, as a trading company. We find that they had a *Merchants' Guild*, under the government of an alderman and two stewards. The *Register Book* of the convent of Malmesbury, contains several deeds and conveyances between the abbot and convent, and the members of this guild; from whence it farther appears, that there was a pretty close connexion between the monastery and the corporation.*

This town, therefore, having been a place of considerable importance in a commercial point of view, and also famous for the wealth and grandeur of its monastery, it is probable that most of those monarchs who were benefactors to the abbot and convent also granted privileges to the incorporated tradesmen. From the time of Athelstan's benefaction, however, no record has been yet discovered purporting to be a charter for the confirmation of former franchises, or the addition of further privileges, previous to the reign of

* Some additional particulars relating to the above subject may be found in the following section.

Richard II. In the British Museum there is a deed, entitled, "a charter of divers liberties, with a heath near Norton, containing five hides of land given by King Athelstan to the burgesses of the town of Malmesbury, on account of a victory gained over the Danes."* This was granted about the year 1189. A few years after this transaction, the imprudent and unfortunate Richard was deposed. Articles of impeachment were exhibited against him; in which he was charged with having set aside certain knights and burgesses who had been legally elected to serve in parliament, and introduced others for clandestine purposes. These charges were proved, and even admitted by the illfated monarch. His successor, Henry IV. who annulled many of King Richard's grants, thought proper to favour the burgesses of Malmesbury with a new charter, which is dated July 2, 1411. It confirms to the burgesses and their successors the charter of King Athelstan, and renews the liberties and franchises, which it contains secure from interruption, either from the king or his officers.

This charter of Henry IV. is noticed in the preamble to that of William III.

* Malmesbury Burgus—De libertatibus diversis cum Bruera juxta Norton, continente 5 hidas terræ, concessa per Regem Athelstan burgenſibus villæ prædictæ, pro victoria peracta contra Danos. Bund. Certif. Gildar. &c. Ao. 12. Rich. II. No. 4.

There is also extant, in the British Museum, another charter granted by this monarch, entitled—Confirmatio Cart. et Libertat. antiquis Medulſinenſis Villæ. Ao. 5. Rich. II. pt. 1. in 12. et Chartul. Caley's M.S.

We must not omit among the benefactors of the corporation Henry V. the illustrious conqueror of France. There is extant a deed of this monarch with the following title: *De manibus regis amovendis de quiddam Bruerá, sive pasturá, juxta Malmesbury vocatá Brendeheth, quæ Athelstanus Rex Angliæ dedit Burgensibus villæ de Malmesbury, pro sustentatione unius Capellani ad orandum pro animabus dicti regis et Burgensium prædictorum.*—*Pasch. rec. 10. Hen. V. rot. 4.**

The nature of this deed cannot readily be understood from the account of it, but the following observations may in some degree facilitate its interpretation. In the beginning of this king's reign, in 1414, a parliament was held at Leicester, by which one hundred and ten *alien priories* were suppressed, and their lands and revenues given to the king. This was not done without the consent of the English clergy, to whom this property belonged; but policy induced them to sacrifice a part of their extensive possessions, in order to preserve the remainder. The foundations thus suppressed were such as had been dependent on foreign monasteries, and therefore probably consisted (besides priories,) of hermitages, chapels, and other small institutions, like the chapel before-mentioned, in which prayers were to be said for the soul of King Athelstan, and for those of the burgesses of Malmesbury. If therefore this chapel

* Fosbrooke's Auxill. Coll. for Wiltsh. M.S.

was connected with some abbey abroad, it must, with the rest, have fallen into the hands of the king ; who may afterwards have restored it to the corporation. It is worthy of notice, that among the present possessions of the corporation, there are two houses, called in King William's charter *All-hallows* and *St. Hellen's Chapels* ; one of which probably was raised for the above-noticed pious purpose. It may, perhaps, be thought improbable that any minor institution of the monastic kind should exist within the jurisdiction of a large and powerful English abbey, and yet be under subjection to a foreign superior. But to this it may be answered, that when Athelstan's chapel was founded, Malmesbury monastery had not so extensive a jurisdiction as it afterwards obtained ; therefore the chapel may have been erected and placed under the protection of some abbey abroad ; and when the alien priories were given to the English ecclesiastics this chapel would naturally fall into the possession of the abbot of Malmesbury, and the burgesses who occupied the land allotted for its support, merely changed their masters. From the Register-Book of the abbey of Malmesbury it appears, that a great part of the lands of the monastery, which were in the vicinity of the town, were in the tenure of individuals belonging to the corporation. This was the case with the above field, *bruera*, now called *Burnt-heath* ; for in page 218 of the register, is a “ *Release* from the abbot and convent to the burgesses of the Merchant's

Merchants' Guild, and their heirs and assigns, of all their right, claim, and common in *Kokeshethe*, *Brodecrofte*, and one close lying between the aforesaid fields; and in a close made by the same burgesses, being one-fourth of the heath called *Barndehethe*: reserving to themselves the right of pasture; and provided no other portion is enclosed beside that which the burgesses have already entered on." A variety of extracts from this record to the same purpose might be introduced: but we shall only observe, that they all tend to prove that the abbot and convent were the patrons of the corporation, and that the wealth and prosperity of the town depended principally on the monastery.

From these observations it appears probable that that this chapel of the burgesses and its endowment had been foreign property; and for that reason came into the hands of King Henry, who by the above deed, restored the field to the corporation: but whether it was still subject to the charge of supporting the chapel, does not appear.

Two charters of Edward IV. for the confirmation of ancient franchises and grants, to the town of Malmesbury, (*Medulfinensis Villa*) are to be found in the British Museum. One of these deeds is dated in the first; and the other in the eleventh year of the reign of that prince.*

* Mr. Caley's M.S.

It does not appear that any royal charter was granted to the corporation during the period between the reign of Edward IV. and that of Henry VIII. yet this eventful era is too important to be passed over in silence. That crafty monarch Henry VII. clearly saw that the feudal aristocracy, whose interest had raised him to the throne, might employ that interest to deprive him of it, in favour of a more powerful competitor. He therefore wisely determined to clip the wings of its influence, and rid himself of the cause of his apprehension.*

Among the methods which Henry made use of to lessen the power of the barons, the encouraging

* “ Henry had sagacity and bravery, but a narrowness of soul overclouded his good qualities. He was cruel from ambition; and his insatiable avarice rendered him deaf to the dictates of justice and even of policy. 'Tis strange but true that his very passion for arbitrary sway was rendered by the good genius of England an instrument of her growing freedom. The king knew that the barons, with their vast estates and numerous retainers, could alone check the royal power. He found this order much enfeebled by the sanguinary ravages of civil discord; he depressed them by perpetual acts to prohibit their trains of dependants; and enticed them to prodigality and consequent ruin by permitting them to alienate their landed estates. Henry chose bishops (Morton and Fox in particular) for his ministers, as he could reward them more easily and rule them more readily than the stubborn barons; and in general he showered favours on priests, lawyers, and such as the Romans styled ‘*Novi homines*.’ The discharged retainers were driven to gainful industry, having no longer their lord’s table to support them; and the nobles deprived of their costly and numerous followers, expended their incomes in such branches of luxury as encouraged the rising growth of manufacture. Thus the democratic part of the constitution assisted by the monarchic gained ground on the aristocracy; and that admired form of government which Britain now possesses is perhaps more indebted for its establishment to the interested policy of the despotic Henry, than to the glorious and patriotic exertions of the most renowned sons of liberty.”
Andrews’s Hist. of Gr. Britain. Vol. I. Pt. ii. p. 206.

of commerce was perhaps the most praiseworthy and effectual.

For this purpose various rights and privileges were granted to trading communities; and foreign artists were encouraged to settle in England. The plan thus wisely marked out was followed by the succeeding prince, but not with equal prudence. "Henry VIII. meant well to commerce, but did not understand, nor attend to its interests so well as his father had done; as appears by the promptitude with which he assented to the petitions for a monopoly from Bridport, and the towns of Worcestershire. The neighbouring hamlets to the former were forbidden by act of parliament to make ropes or cables; and the people of Worcestershire not residing in five towns named in the act, were prohibited from engaging in the manufacture or sale of cloth."* However, notwithstanding the mistakes of Henry, the commerce of Britain encreased during his reign.

The burgesses of Malmesbury among others, doubtless entered with avidity on the road thus opened to wealth and power. The clothing trade as we shall hereafter have farther occasion to observe, was carried on in this town to a very considerable extent.

In the year 1531, a charter for the confirmation of former grants and privileges was given to

* Vid. Andrews. Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 345.

the corporation.* It was in this year that the English ecclesiastics were sued as in case of a *præmunire*, for having acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction, and taken out bulls, and had suits in Cardinal Wolsey's legatine court. Alarmed at its perilous state, the priesthood united in presenting a large sum to the king, and in acknowledging him as supreme head of the church. The laity, who had been involved in the same crime with the clergy, were fearful of incurring the same penalty; but on their petitioning by the voice of parliament for an amnesty it was at length granted them.† Whether the above charter was given to the burgesses of Malmesbury as a reward for their prompt obedience to the despotic Henry on this important occasion, or whether it was purchased with a subsidy, is uncertain. Some circumstances however may be mentioned, which render it probable that the inhabitants of this town were favoured by the king. Richard Frampton who had been abbot of the convent ever since the year 1509, quietly resigned his charge and accepted of a pension, a few years after the grant of this charter. This resignation was no doubt agreeable to the principal part of the townsmen; and shews that they must have been more ready to comply with the religious whims of their

* Confirm. cartæ burgens. vill. de Malmesb. Orig. 22. Hen. VIII. rot. 38. Fodbrooke's Auxill. Coll. for Wiltsh. MS.

† Andrews' Hist. of Gr. Brit. Vol. I. pt. ii. p. 262.

monarch than could have been expected from their former habits. But the king's favour and generosity to the town may more readily be attributed to his intercourse with Mr. Stumpe, a rich manufacturer of Malmesbury, of whom we shall elsewhere give a farther account.

Hitherto it appears that the corporation had been indebted to the fostering influence of the monastery for its power and opulence; but the dissolution of such religious foundations which now took place, did not involve the civil institution in the same destruction. Aided by commerce, it now possessed the means of subsisting alone, and of increasing its possessions and its importance.

It is worthy of remark, that the Reformation does not appear to have met with any material opposition at Malmesbury.

No alterations seem to have taken place in the state of the corporation during the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. In the following reign, the burgesses were probably possessed of considerable property and interest, derived from a successful application to the woollen manufacture. It has been discovered, that in Queen Elizabeth's time, a considerable addition was made to the landed possessions of this body corporate: in all probability, the most important acquisition of land which it could boast of, since the donation of its great benefactor, King Athelstan.

Before we proceed to unfold the manner in which the burgesses of Malmesbury became possessed

essed of this property, we shall notice its former proprietors. For this purpose, it will be necessary to recur to a period previous to the Reformation; when probably the whole of the lands referred to, belonged to the Knights Hospitalars; of whom some account has been already given.* The inmates of the hospital here, like those in many parts of the kingdom, were possessed of great power and opulence; but the abbot and convent of Malmesbury had such influence over *this* establishment, as rendered it in a great measure dependant on the monastery. This plainly appears from the record cited in page 98.† It is probable that there was an intimate connexion also between the prior and brethren of this institution, and the burgesses who may have occupied as tenants the lands appertaining to the hospital. In the year 1540, the Knights of St. John were expelled the kingdom, and their extensive possessions fell into the hands of the king. The lands and houses at Malmesbury, were perhaps given, or sold by Henry VIII. to one of his courtiers; for, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a part of them belonged to John Mersh and William Mersh, gentlemen, of London; who gave the portion they possessed to John Stumpe, esq; of Malmesbury. The remainder was purchased, by the same gentleman, of John Herbert and Andrew Palmer, citizens of London; and the whole was transferred by Mr.

* See p. 61, and 97.

† See Appendix, Note * XXIII.

Stumpe, in consideration of the sum of twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four-pence, to the burgesses then existing, for the use and in behalf of the alderman and burgesses of the borough of Mahmesbury; to be held in free and common socage, under the Queen's Manor of East Greenwich. This transaction took place in the year 1580.*

These possessions are now charged with the payment of twenty pounds *per annum*, towards the support of a free-school and almshouse. When these foundations took place, or on what account, is rather uncertain. Perhaps similar charitable institutions had subsisted under the patronage of the Knights Hospitalars. If this was the case however, they were probably set aside when that order was suppressed. No notice is taken of the school, or alms-house in the grant of Mr. Stumpe. It has been suggested that they were founded subsequent to the statute of 39th Eliz. 1597; which fixes the sum for the endowment of an hospital to be not less than ten pounds. And the exact time may be more nearly conjectured from an original memorandum,† whereby it appears that the allotments, or particular quota of each capital burgess, to make up the twenty pounds by quarterly payments, were settled June 22 1629; about which time, probably the school and almshouse were established on the present foundation.

* Appendix, Note XXVI.

† Appendix, Note XXVII.

From the unfortunate Charles I. the members of the corporation received a new charter, with additional privileges, in the year 1636.* This grant is usually regarded as having altered, or at least modified the constitution of the borough, by the creation of an alderman, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four assistants; the alderman being endowed with the powers of a justice of the peace. But though this seems to have been the first charter in which these branches of the body corporate are expressly mentioned, yet there are documents which tend to prove that there were twelve principal, or capital burgesses, and an alderman, who had an extraordinary share of the privileges and revenues of the corporation, long previous to this period. Indeed it is observable, that Ambrose Parris, otherwise Looker, who was the first alderman under this charter, bore the same office at the time of his appointment; and that all the persons named as capital burgesses had served the office of alderman, though not in regular succession, as they do at present; for in some instances, one person is found to have served as alderman for several years together.

It is not an improbable supposition, that all the accessory branches of the corporation originated in the trading community beforementioned, called the *Merchants' Guild*; the members of which so-

* Malmesbury Burgo libertates concessæ in Comitatu Wilteshæ, 5 pars orig.
 46. 11. Car. I. ret. 32. Appendix, Note XXVIII.

ciety appear to have consisted of the most wealthy and powerful individuals among the burgesses.— Whether this trading company continued in existence at this period, is not certain. But it is not unlikely that the persons (twelve in number) to whom the lands of the Hospitalars were granted by Mr. Stumpe, may have been the governors of the guild; and on the acquisition of this property, the title of which may have been defective,* they probably thought that the royal charter erecting them into a privileged body, distinct from the other members of the corporation, would most firmly secure their newly gotten possessions. The capital burgesses under the new charter, perhaps formed a kind of civic aristocracy; so that the principal offices in the corporation may for some time have been in the hands of particular families. The benefits conferred on this town by King Charles were repaid with loyalty by the inhabitants. This illfated monarch was entertained by the corporation in the Town-Hall, during his short and hasty visit, in the time of the civil war.†

Under the government of Cromwell, it is probable that the townsfolks suffered in their for-

* This conjecture receives support from a passage in the charter of King William III. purporting that the premises in question had been concealed, or detained from government. Mr. Stumpe's grant, however, plainly shews how the corporation acquired this property, though the sum paid for it seems to have been much below its value, even at that period.

† Vid. Sect. I. ad fin.

tunes, for their attachment to the royal cause; and the decline of the commerce and manufactures of Malmesbury, may with propriety be dated from this period. However, on the restoration of King Charles II. the corporation again suffered; for in consequence of the act of parliament which passed December 20, 1661,* a writ of *quo warranto* was issued for the seizure of its charters, on which judgment passed and was entered on record; though it does not appear that the charters were surrendered. But in the ensuing reign a charter of confirmation was granted, for restoring the corporation to its ancient privileges, nearly similar to that of Charles I. This appears to have been granted in consequence of the judgment in *quo warranto*, which had probably invalidated the former charters.

A few years after the Revolution, the members of the corporation forfeited all their civic privileges; for the alderman, capital burgesses, and all the officers and servants of the borough, except the high steward, Thomas Lord Wharton,† had neglected to subscribe a certain association, in an act of parliament passed November 22, 1695; entitled, ‘an act for the better security of his majesty’s royal person and government.’ In consequence of this omission, they were incapacitated for the offices they had held; and the body corporate being deprived of its principal members, could no longer ex-

* Appendix, Note XXIX.

† See Sect. IX.

ercise its functions, but became extinct, in a political point of view. Lord Wharton, however, so effectually pleaded the cause of the repenting burgesses, that a new and ample charter was granted them in the following year (1696).* This charter extended the bounds of the borough; including within them the parishes of St. Paul, Malmesbury, St. Mary, Westport, and the precincts of the monastery, now called the Abbey Parish. It established the legal existence and jurisdiction of the body corporate; and imparted the power of making a common seal. It appoints an alderman, twelve capital burgesses, and twenty-four assistants. It fixes the time, &c. for the election of these officers, and limits the duration of their offices. It directs the election of a high steward, who is to act as a counsellor to the alderman and burgesses. It grants a power to meet in the Common Hall and hold councils, and make bye laws for the government of the borough. It constitutes the alderman, high steward, and their deputies justices of the peace. It declares the alderman and capital burgesses to be a body corporate in fact, deed, and name; with power to make additions to their property, or to dispose of the same or any part of it. It proceeds to notice landed property vested in the alderman and capital burgesses. This consists chiefly of *St. John's Hospital*, (now used as the town-hall) and other lands and tenements to a con-

* Appendix, Note XXX.

siderable amount, situated in the counties of Wilts and Gloucester, which had been possessed by the Knights Hospitalars; the titles and occupations of which are specified at length. It charges the corporation with the payment of twenty pounds *per annum*, towards the support of a school and almshouse. It also confirms all the rights and privileges of the corporation, and ordains that the enrolment of the deed shall be good in law.

Beside the burgesses and assistants there are at present two orders of persons connected with the borough, styled landholders and commoners.—The commoners, who are called free burgesses in the latter charters, are the lowest members of the corporation. Their necessary qualifications are that they must be sons, or sons-in-law of capital or free burgesses, married and parishioners inhabitant; and their chief privileges are the liberty of turning cattle on the common of Kingsheath, and the eligibility to the office of landholder.

A situation between the assistant burgesses and the commoners, is occupied by the landholders, who are fifty-two in number. The office entitles them to the possession of an acre of land for life; and the vacancies in the class of assistant burgesses are filled up by elections from their body.*

This ancient corporation has undoubtedly undergone considerable alterations in its internal polity since its first establishment; notwithstanding

* Appendix, Note XXXI.

which there are still some customs remaining, which point to those days of yore, when symbolic ceremonies superseded parchment conveyances.—The memory of their great benefactor King Athelstan, is also still kept up by an annual feast which bears his name, when the capital burgesses and their families are entertained at the expence of the corporation.

Thus we have given a short account of the most important occurrences in the history of this borough; of its civil constitution; and of the principal privileges, pre-eminences, and emoluments enjoyed by the different classes of the body corporate. There is, however, one valuable privilege which we have not yet noticed; the right of electing members of parliament; which is, at present, claimed exclusively by the capital burgesses, as belonging to them from ancient custom; for no mention of it is made in any of the charters. How long this right has been exercised by the burgesses, does not clearly appear; it has not, however, been preserved without encountering some opposition from the other branches of the corporation.

The town of Malmesbury sent members to parliament very early. The precise time, when this privilege was first exercised, is uncertain. In a late publication* indeed we are told that this borough first sent members to parliament the twenty-

* An entire and complete History, political and personal, of the Boroughs of Great-Britain; 2 vols. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 474. Vide etiam Dr. Squire's Historical Essay on the Anglo-Saxon Government. Edit. 1753, p. 442.

third year of Edward I. But if with Dr. Stuart, we admit that during the reigns of the Saxon monarchs, persons elected by the commons had seats in the *Wittenagemote*, or great national council,* we may, without offending against probability, conclude that the inhabitants of Malmesbury sent representatives to that council soon after they became a corporate body. It must be acknowledged, however, that from the imperfection of the records, which relate to the earlier periods of English history, every thing that is advanced on the subject of Anglo-Saxon parliaments, must be in a great measure conjectural.

Henry I. who called a council at Salisbury, from which he procured an order for raising a sub-

* "Every free-man in Germany assembled in person at the councils of his nation, or voted for the representative of his district. The same conduct was observed in England. The possession of land was the mark of freedom amongst the Saxons; and in those states of the heptarchy, where the people could appear in a body, every individual who had seized, or been endowed with territory, had a title to attend its councils: but in those which were more populous, and where the individuals could not be easily collected, the holders of lands gave their votes for representatives: and from the time that the Saxon kingdoms were united, the commons appeared generally in the way of representation.

"In every inferior court which had been formed in Germany and England, the free-men, or possessors of land in the territory over which it presided, assembled as the *SUITORS* there. Would we every where perceive the marks of a limited and free administration, in the lowest establishments, and yet find them to be wanting in that which was highest and most important? It is impossible. The whole landholders among the Saxons were the *Suitors* of the council of the nation. The boroughs, or towns, forming corporations and being endowed with land, had a title to be present by their deputies; and the *WITNESSES*, or wise men, who are mentioned as a part of the Anglo-Saxon parliament, were the *Knights of the Shires*, and the *Burgesses*." Stuart on the Eng. Constitution, p. 287, 288, 289.

sidy,

sidy, (by a tax on land,) wherewith to portion his daughter Mathilda, is usually represented as being the first monarch, at least after the conquest, who had a parliament. But the constitution of this assembly was probably so different from those of later times, as hardly to deserve that name.

It appears that writs were first issued for the return of members to parliament by Henry III. The earliest writ extant is dated the forty-ninth year of his reign, 1265. As aforementioned, the borough of Malmesbury is usually considered as having been first summoned to return members to parliament in the twenty-third year of Edward I. but Dr. Brady, in his historical treatise upon boroughs, notices that the first returns extant of knights, citizens, and burgesses, are dated in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of that king. In that of Wiltshire for that year, annexed to the writ, there were returned two knights for the county, two citizens for New Sarum, two burgesses for Downton, two for the Devizes, two for Chippenham, and two for *Malmesbury*, with their manucaptors. It may be added, that writs were sent to the constable of Merleberge, and the bailiff of Calne and Wortle, who returned no answer.* At this period, and for some time after, returns of members to parliament were made in a very irregular manner; for the members of many corporations neg-

* The original expression in the return is, "Constabulario de Merleberge, et ballivis libertatis Calne et Wortle, qui nullum inde dederunt responsum."—This return is still extant in the Tower of London. Mr. Caley's MS.

lected to exercise their electoral rights. Instances of this omission occurred in the twelfth year of Edward III. when, as Dr. Brady informs us, the sheriff made his precept only to the boroughs of Wilton and Downton; and what is remarkable, he closes his return thus: "*Non sunt plures civitates, neque burgi infra ballivam meam:*" *i. e.* there are no more cities nor boroughs within my bailiwick or county: notwithstanding Bedwin, Calne, Chippenham, Cricklade, Devizes, Ludgershall, Marlborough, and *Malmesbury*, had often returned burgesses to parliament, previous to this period, as appears from the records of returns in this and the two preceding reigns. In compliance with the writs issued in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Edward III. two members were returned for the borough of *Malmesbury*, with their manucaptors; and also for nine more boroughs in this county—though Ludgershall did not send any members this year, notwithstanding it had exercised the right of election six times before this period. A similar omission of Ludgershall, and three more boroughs occurred in the forty-third year of the same king's reign; but Malmesbury returned two burgesses that year.*

From the date of the first return extant, to the reign of Henry V. there are many returns for the borough of Malmesbury, by indenture between the sheriff and divers persons, whose quality or

* Mr. Caley's MS. Appendix, Note XXXII.

situation in life is not noticed. The members are said to be returned *pro communitate*, for the community.

In the thirty-third year of the reign of Henry VI. 1455, a *separate indenture for Malmesbury was returned for the first time*. The indenture is considerably mutilated. In it the alderman is described thus: *Aldermannus et unus Burgesium*. Fourteen more names have been made out; and there appear to have been several names obliterated, all which are styled *Burgeses Burgi pdcti*. The election was made by them, and the common seal of the burgesses mentioned to be annexed; but the seal is destroyed.

There is extant a return by schedule annexed to the writ for the year 1477, in the reign of Edward IV. The names of some electors are given, and many other persons are said to have been present.

In the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, there is an indenture between the sheriff, and the alderman and burgesses, purporting that the election was made by the latter, and their common seal affixed to it.* This is the second separate return for Malmesbury.† In the following year is an indenture of return, which differs from the last, in omitting the alderman. From this time

* The old common seal made use of has this inscription; "Conum figill' Burg' de Malmesbury."

† All the returns subsequent to the accession of Queen Mary are by separate indentures.

till the grant of a charter by Charles I. all the indentures represent the alderman and burgesses as the electors, and have their seal appended.

In the fifteenth year of the reign of Charles I. 1640, which was four years after the corporation had received its new charter, is an indenture similar to the former; only that it contains a clause asserting that the alderman and burgesses elected for themselves, and the whole body, and inhabitants of the borough. It has affixed to it the old common seal.

In the indenture of a return which took place the next year (1641) the electors first assumed their new title. The election is said to be made by the *capital burgesses*, and signed by the alderman only; but the old common seal was still used.

The returns do not materially differ in their mode of expression, from this time to the year 1688: excepting that for the fourteenth of Charles II. 1663, in which the alderman and capital burgesses assert that they elect for themselves, and the whole body of inhabitants of the borough.

There having been no opposition in the borough during this period, the common or free burgesses had perhaps lain inactive, and been inattentive to their rights, placing full confidence in the capital burgesses who acted under King Charles's charter.

But the abdication of James II. and the grand revolution which followed that event, caused a considerable sensation in the minds of the people; and led to a general enquiry into the extent of their

civil and political rights. This enquiry was also accelerated by the Prince of Orange's precept for the Convention Parliament,* which directs "the election to be made by such persons only, as according to the ancient laws and customs of right, ought to choose members of parliament; and that the electors cause a return to be made by certificate, under their seal, of the names of the persons elected, (annexed to the letter) to the clerk of the crown, before the twenty-second day of January."

Addressed—To the chief magistrate, or such others of the borough of Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts, who have a right to make returns of members to serve in parliament, according to the ancient usage of the said borough, before the seizure or surrender of charters made in the time of King Charles II.

In compliance with this precept, January 15th, 1689, a return was made by the alderman, according to the ancient usage of the borough, by the free and unanimous consent of the capital burgesses and other inhabitants duly assembled. The common seal was annexed; and this testimonial signed by the alderman, ten capital burgesses, fif-

* "Dec. 25, 1688. The Peers present the Prince of Orange, two addresses; the first of thanks, &c. and to desire his Highness to accept the government: the second to issue out letters for a Convention Parliament, to sit January 22. — 29. The Prince of Orange gave his answer to the said addresses. —

"Jan. 5, 1689. The Prince of Orange published an order for regular elections of convention-men." — Pointer's Chron. Hist. of Eng. vol. i.

teen assistants, nineteen landholders, and twenty-seven commoners; in all seventy two persons.

On this occasion, it plainly appears that all the different members of the corporation exercised their civic rights, as electors; since it would be absurd to suppose that the assistants, landholders and commoners subscribed their names merely as witnesses to the election.

Four years previous to this return Colonel Wharton had preferred a petition against the usurpation of the capital burgesses, in support of the rights of the other branches. This petition it is true was not tried, because the parliament was dissolved before the day of trial arrived; however this gentleman was elected again, January 15, 1689, by the joint interest of his former friends, and of those who had before opposed him.

Mr. Wharton having been chosen for another place, for which he took his seat, a fresh election was made January 30th, 1689, which differed from the former in nothing but the number of the electors whose names were subscribed to the return. They amounted to but sixty.

In the year 1691, there is an indenture purporting that the election was made by the alderman, with the whole assent and consent of the rest of the burgesses; having appended to it the common seal of the alderman and burgesses.

In the following year a return was made which is said to have been with the assent of the capital bur-

burgesses; but it has the same common seal with the last affixed to it.

In 1696, a similar return took place. In 1697, a contest happened. The members chosen by the capital burgesses were returned; but a petition against this proceeding was presented to the House of Commons, December 14, 1698.

Early in the year 1699, a fresh election took place, and a dispute, and a petition followed.— On this occasion a particular agreement was made between the heads of the corporation, in which it was determined, *that the right of election was in the alderman and twelve capital burgesses.** Thus the inferior branches of this body were by a decree of their superiors, deprived of their title to assist in chusing members of parliament. But few attempts have been subsequently made to regain the privilege, and these have been almost entirely unsuccessful.

In 1701, another contest occurred, when Daniel Parke, esq; stood on the right of the commonalty; but the return was made in the name of the capital burgesses. A petition was presented against it, in the name of the burgesses and inhabitants of the borough; however, the candidate having also alleged bribery against the sitting members, and failed in proving the allegation, it was retorted upon him; and he was taken into custody,

* See Journal of the House of Commons, vol. xii. p. 662. Apr. 24, 1699-
and

and ordered to be prosecuted by the attorney-general.

This petition seems to have had some effect, notwithstanding the candidate who preferred it did not succeed; for at the election which took place shortly after, on the accession of Queen Ann, in 1702, the right of voting was exercised in its fullest extent, by all the incorporators; the word *capital* being omitted in the return, which is said to have been made by the alderman, with the consent of the rest of the burgesses.

But the capital burgesses soon reassumed the exclusive management of the elections; and in some of the following returns the other branches of the corporation were unnoticed. In the indenture of return relating the election of 1715, the members are said to have power '*pro burgo prædicto.*'

No candidate appearing to support the popular interest, the borough remained quiet till the year 1722. In which year a contested election happened, in consequence of a division among the capital burgesses themselves. Lord Hillsborough and Sir John Rushout were returned; but a petition complaining of the illegality of this election was presented to the House of Commons. At this time the agreement which had been made in 1699, was repeated.* By this agreement the right of election was vested in the alderman and capital

* See Journal of the House of Commons, vol. xx. p. 77. Dec. 13, 1722. Hist. of the Boroughs of Gr. Brit. vol. ii. p. 222.

burgesses only; and for a long time after the other branches of the corporation silently acquiesced in the determination. Upwards of seventy years now elapsed before any material contest took place; during which period the alderman and capital burgesses exclusively exercised the privileges of electing members to serve in parliament.

At the general election which took place in 1796, the candidates were Peter Isaac Thelluson, esq; and — Smith, esq; who were supported by the major part of the capital burgesses; and John George Vassar, esq; and — Luxford, esq; who depended on the interest of the remaining branches of the corporation. Mr. Thelluson and Mr. Smith were returned representatives for the borough; against which return Mr. Vassar preferred a petition to the House of Commons.— A similar petition against the return was also presented in the name of the free burgesses, inhabitants of the town. Only the first of these petitions was attended to. On the second of November, 1796, the committee of the House of Commons met, and proceeded to try the merits of Mr. Vassar's petition; which stated that the right of election of members to serve in parliament for the borough of Malmesbury was in the alderman, capital burgesses, assistants, landholders, and commoners of the said borough. In support of this statement reference was made to former returns previous to the grant of the charter of King Charles I. and a few since that time.

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The committee at length, after examining the arguments offered in support of the petition; and likewise those adduced in favour of the sitting members, determined that the latter were duly elected.

Mr. Vassar, however, made another attempt to gain a seat in parliament for this borough; and presented a petition to the House of Commons, in the following year. This petition was tried before a committee, in May following; and met with a fate similar to that of the former.

The event of this contest will probably prevent candidates in future, from venturing any lengths in opposition to the exclusive influence of the capital burgesses over the election of representatives for this borough. For since the decision of the tribunal, to which all appeals on this subject are carried, no person can with any probability of success, stand for the borough on the interest of the free burgesses; unless some such alterations should take place in the representative part of our constitution, as have been proposed by the advocates for parliamentary reform.*

Perhaps one of the best arguments for this reformation is the very unequal manner in which the privilege of electing representatives is exercised. In some boroughs, the right of electing is allowed to all the inhabitants of the borough

* For a list of the members of parliament for the borough of Malmesbury, see Appendix, Note XXXIII.

who dress their own food, as at Taunton; in others, this right is attached to persons dwelling in some particular houses, as at Westbury; in some cases, the right of chusing members for a borough is extended to all the freeholders of the hundred, in which it is situated, as at Cricklade; again it is sometimes circumscribed to the members of a corporation. We have elsewhere observed that in former times the obligation to elect members of parliament was considered as a hardship.* This was at a period when those who were returned were so far from paying for their seats, that they received a settled stipend from their constituents. Probably this circumstance may, in some measure, account for the unequal distribution of elective rights; for the privilege of sending members to parliament may have been coveted by a particular class of the inhabitants of one town, when a similar class in another may have been equally unable and unwilling to receive the same favour.

The necessity for parliamentary reform has been acknowledged by several eminent statesmen.—When the question relative to this subject was last agitated in parliament, it was opposed by Mr. Pitt and others on the grounds of its ineligibility at that particular period; and not as a measure in itself dangerous and unconstitutional. The celebrated Lord Chatham had his mind so strongly impressed with the imperfections in the represen-

* See page 131.

tative part of the constitution, that he foretold that our rotten boroughs could not outlive the last century.* And although this prediction has not been fulfilled, yet the sagacity of that nobleman remains unimpeached; for the grand political revolutions which have convulsed Europe since his death, have been so extraordinary as to defy the power of speculation; and have so far involved the interest of governments in general, as to render it necessary for those that escaped the vortex to direct all their energy to the purposes of guarding against the encroachments of ambitious neighbours, and supporting their relative existence in the political scale; and consequently rendered it dangerous to attempt any new modifications in the interior departments of the state.

Before we conclude the civil history of Malmesbury, it will be proper to lay before the reader such information as can be collected relating to the manor.

The earliest account upon record concerning the exercise of seignorial jurisdiction over this district, is the relation which William of Malmesbury gives of the deed whereby Lutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, transferred to Aldhelm the territory of Malmesbury.† It is not, however, quite clear that this was an absolute transfer of manorial

* See *Thoughts on Government, &c.* by Geo. Rous, esq; 4th Edit. 1791, p. 45.

† Vid. p. 37. *huj. lib.*
S

property;

property; for Leland informs us that a king of the West Saxons, and a bishop of Winchester were the founders of this abbey.* Therefore it may be inferred that the charter of Lutherius was the joint act of Kenewalch, king of Wessex, and the bishop. It appears probable that the land here referred to was of no great extent; for it is said to have been called Maildulfesburch, which denomination is supposed to have been derived from the name of the abbot Maildulf, or Meyldulph; and consequently is likely to have been restricted to the precincts of the monastery which he had erected; or, at most only to have included the neighbouring village and castle of Ingleburne.

In after times it plainly appears that the regular jurisdiction of the abbot did not extend over the town; but was confined to the abbey, with its various offices and appendages; which, however, occupied a considerable portion of land.† For in the charter granted by Edward the Confessor, in 1065, the property then pertaining to the monastery is recited, but the town of Malmesbury, is entirely omitted. At that period it appears to have formed part of the royal demesnes.

That valuable record of the state of landed property in this kingdom, in the reign of William I. which is usually stiled Domesday-book, shews that Malmesbury *then* belonged to the crown; and the revenues which it yielded sufficiently demon-

* Leland's Itinerary, vol. ii.

† See p. 47.

strate its importance, as the following abstract will evince.

“ The king has 26 messuages in the borough of Malmesberie, and 25 other messuages, that pay no taxes. These houses pay 10 pence each, as rent, in all 42 shillings and six pence. Half a ruined messuage, part of the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux, does no services. The abbot of Malmesberie has 4 messuages and a half, and the out-burgesses have 9 cottagers, (*coscez*) who are assessed with the burgesses. The abbot of Glastonbury has 2 messuages. Edward the sheriff 3 messuages. Radulf de Mortemer has 1 and a half. Durand de Gloucestre 1 and a half. William de Ow 1. Humphrey de L'isle 1. Osbern Giffard 1. Alured de Merlebergh has half a ruined messuage. Geoffry Mariscal the like. Tovi has one messuage and the fourth part of another. Drogo the son of Ponz half a one. The wife of Edric has one. Roger de Berchelai holds 1 under the king; and Ernulf de Hesding the like, which he unguardedly took possession of. These two do no services. The king has a waste spot of land which belonged to Azor.”*

“ The king receives—from the third penny of Malmesberie 6 pounds.”†

* Wiltshire, extracted from Domesday-Book; to which is added a translation of the original Latin into English. By Henry P. Wyndham, 8vo. 1788. p. 3 and 5.

The extracts quoted above, are somewhat abridged from Mr. Wyndham's translation.

† Ibid. p. 13.

“ Walter

“Walter Hosed pays the king 8 pounds from 2 parts of the borough of Malmesberie, and the borough itself paid as much T. R. E.* and the pleas of the hundreds of *Cicemtone* and *Sutelesberg* were holden in this manor, which belonged to the king. The borough pays 100 shillings in money. The Earl Harold had an acre of land in this borough, in which are 4 messuages and 6 others ruinous, and a mill pays 10 shillings. All this paid T. R. E. 100 shillings; and when the king undertook any expedition, by sea or land, he accepted either 20 shillings towards the maintenance of his sailors, or took with him one man for the honour of 5 hides.”†

“The bishop (of Coutances) holds Malmesberie. Gislebert held it T. R. E. when it was assessed at 1 hide. Here is half a ploughland. Three yardlands are in demesne, where is the half a ploughland, with 3 borderers (*bordarii*.) Here are 4 acres of meadow; and the pasture is in length 2 furlongs, and in breadth 1. It is worth 13 shillings.”‡

“Chetel holds 1 hide in Malmesberie. Godwin held it T. R. E. Here is one ploughland, which is in demesne with 2 borderers (*bordarii*.) Here are 6 acres of meadow; and the pasture is 3 furlongs in length, and half a furlong broad. It is worth 20 shillings.”§

* *Tempore Regis Edvardi*.—i. e. In the time of King Edward the Confessor.

† *Ibid.* p. 15.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 91.

§ *Ibid.* p. 481.

In order to explain in some measure the above extracts, it is necessary to observe that during the existence of feudal tenures in England, nearly the whole of the kingdom was divided into a number of manors; some of which the king kept in his own hands, and the rest were granted to certain persons, on condition of their rendering knight's-service. These were called tenants *in capite*; and some of these tenures continued till they were set aside by the statute 12 Car. II. cap. 24. The manors which were thus held of the crown, were leased out by the lord to others under certain conditions. The *dominium* or demesne was usually kept by the lord himself, and was overlooked and tended by his *servi* or slaves; with respect to whom he possessed a power as absolute as a West-India planter possesses over his negroes. The rest of the manor was allotted to the *villani*, *bordarii*, *coliberti*, *coscezes*, and *cotarii*, who were obliged to perform certain services, in return for the lands they occupied. From these several orders of subtenants have arisen the various kinds of leasehold, and copy-hold tenures which exist at present.

The *coscezes* and *bordarii* alone are mentioned in the preceding extracts. The former of these who are sometimes called *coshes*, i. e. couchees, (for the word seems to be derived from the French *coucher*, to lie down,) were obliged to furnish their lord and his retinue with lodgings, when ever they chose to demand it. The service which the *bordarii* were obliged to perform, was that of furnish-
ing

ing the lord with poultry, eggs and other menial provisions.*

The other terms mentioned in the extracts, refer to the measurement of arable land.—A hide (*hida*) appears to have been an uncertain portion of land that might annually have been worth about twenty Norman shillings; and as the value depended upon the quality of the land, it consisted accordingly of a greater or less number of acres in proportion to their poverty or fertility. A ploughland (*carucata*) was a measure somewhat arbitrary, but may be fixed on an average at one hundred and twenty acres. A yardland (*virgata*) was the fourth part of a ploughland.—There is a circumstance (in the second of the foregoing extracts) which deserves special notice. A mill is said to have paid ten shillings, and in another part of domesday book twenty shillings. The privilege of building mills seems to have been granted by the lords only to particular persons, and under the special condition of having an annual rent in money; which rents generally appear to have been beyond all proportion higher than the value of the other parts of the estate. The profits arising from them must therefore have been certain and considerable: perhaps the tolls of the mills, and the general necessity of bread (of which there could be no fear

* Probably the *bordarii*, (borderers) were so called from their living on the frontiers or borders of manors which were in early times no doubt, waste and uncultivated. Perhaps on this account they supported themselves by feeding fowls, &c. only, as the nature of the land prevented them from raising grain.

of a sale) made the payments in money easy.— Mills are of high antiquity, and for an obvious reason. The mill noticed in these extracts, may probably have been situated on the same spot with one of those now standing. The distinction between meadow and pasture in domesday, is, that meadow is appropriated to those grass grounds that were mowed, and pasture to those which were fed.*

If succeeding monarchs had imitated the policy of William the Norman, in procuring surveys of the landed property of the kingdom to be made, similar to that contained in the domesday-book, it would have been an easy task to have traced the descent of manorial property. But as no general survey has been made from that of William, to the present time, it is often impossible to discover the intermediate proprietors of any particular domain. Charters, seigniorial grants, and title deeds have sometimes been destroyed to forward the ends of designing persons; and during periods of anarchy, or civil war, valuable records of this description have been sacrificed by the indiscriminating vengeance of riotous mobs, or ignorant and ungovernable soldiers. As Malmesbury has not been exempted from these misfortunes, but has suffered particularly at the dissolution of monasteries, and

* The reader who wishes for further information relative to the origin and nature of feudal tenures, will do well to consult the following authorities from whence the above remarks have been taken. Christian's edit. of Blackstone's Comment. b. ii. chap. 4. 5. Wyndham's Wiltsh. extracted from Domesday-Book, pref. p. 5. et seq. Month. Rev. enlarg. Vol. ii. p. 329, 330.

also probably at the taking of the town by the parliament forces, it cannot be expected that a regular history of the descent of the manor can be given. We have however, discovered a few particulars relative to persons who were seized of the manor at different periods; with an account of which we shall conclude this section.

In the reign of Henry II. Robert Fitzharding the first Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley, had the town and castle of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire; with all the lands and hundreds to the town and castle belonging, granted him by the king, to hold at the rent of thirteen pounds ten shillings, for which he paid one hundred marks in silver, according to the letter patent.*

The abbot and convent of Malmesbury probably became possessed of the town and castle in the reign of King John; for upon the patent rolls of the seventeenth year of that king, there is a grant, or confirmation to the abbot and convent of Malmesbury, of the manor of Malmesbury: and upon the charter rolls of the same year, a record "*pro Villa et Castro de Malmesbury cum Libertatibus in tribus Hundredis.*"†

Queen Isabel (King John's widow) also granted a charter to the abbot and monks confirming the town of Malmesbury to them, at a free-farm rent of twenty pounds.

* From Smith's Lives of the Berkeley's, MS. in Berkeley Castle, p. 73-communicated by Mr. Folbrooke.

† Mr. Caley's MS.

In the thirty-first year of the same reign, the fee-farm of twelve pounds, from Malmesbury, was granted to William Elton, esq.*

Elizabeth Woodville, the beautiful Queen of Edward IV. derived a part of her revenue from this manor. "Twenty pounds *per annum* from the farm of the town of Malmesbury, was ordered to be paid by the abbot, or sheriff of the county, as a part of the pin-money of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. according to the patent rolls of the seventh year of that king's reign."†

Notwithstanding these grants of rents arising from the manor, to particular persons, yet we may consider the abbot as having been the primary holder and *Lord of the Manor*, until the dissolution of monasteries. A few years before this deprivation took place, we find from the patent rolls of the twenty-first of Henry VIII. that a fine was paid for a confirmation of charters and liberties to that avaricious monarch.‡

Richard Frampton, who was the last abbot, resigned the monastery and its revenues into the hands of the king, December 15, 1539. The lordship of Malmesbury, did not continue long in the possession of Henry, for in the year 1545, he sold the scite of the abbey and the surrounding demesne for fifteen hundred pounds, to William Stumpe, esq; of Malmesbury.§

* See the pat. rolls. 39 Hen. VI.

† Follbrooke,

‡ Idem.

§ Grose's Antiquities.—Mapson's MS.

How long it continued in the possession of this gentleman and his family, is uncertain; indeed after this period nothing but a few detached memorandums relative to the manor have fallen under our notice. It appears that some persons of respectability, named Stumpe, were connected with this town during the interval between the reign of Henry VIII. and that of James I. but we cannot affirm that they were lords of the manor.

In the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, Henry Knyvett, esq; laid claim to the demesne in question;* and we may infer from a deed, whereby he granted the abbey to the townsmen for a parish church,† that he was proprietor of it in the following year which is the date of the grant. It seems that Mr. Knyvett, did not keep undisturbed possession of his new acquisition; for in the tenth year of this queen's reign, William Pore, *alias* Capper, claimed the manor of Malmesbury,‡ but we are ignorant of the result of his attempt.

Ann Warneford widow, died, seized of the scite of the manor of Malmesbury, in 1631, and William Plomer, son of Ann, wife of — Plomer, and third daughter of the above Ann Warneford, was found to be the heir. William Cole, of Bristol, was at that time lessee of the above lands.§

* Mich. Rec. 7 Eliz. rot. 161. Folbrooke's Auxil. Col. for Wiltshire, M.S.

† See Appendix, Note XVIII.

‡ Hil. Rec. 10. Eliz. rot. 23. Folbrooke.

§ Inquisitiones post mortem. Com. by Mr. Folbrooke.

From Fuller's Church History, we learn that Thomas Ivye, esq;* held it in 1656.

In 1671, Godwyn Wharton, esq; was lord of the manor.† This gentleman's family, and also that of the Warnefords, were related to the Stumpes, as appears from a monument in the abbey church. Mr. Wharton, who served as member of parliament for Malmesbury in the year 1695, seems to have been possessor of the manor for a number of years.

In 1700, the manor belonged to Thomas Lord Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury. He died in 1715, and Philip, who in 1718, was created Duke of Wharton succeeded to it. The next proprietors appear to have been Maria Theresa, Dutchess Dowager of Wharton, (the Duke's widow,) and Sir Charles Kemyes, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, baronets; who about the year 1750, sold it to Sir John Rushout, baronet, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy counsel. In 1760, Sir John gave it to his son, the late Lord Northwick, on his coming of age: a gift which he afterwards confirmed by his will.—He died in 1775. The late Lord enjoyed the manor till the time of his death, which happened in 1800: and by his will devised the same to his widow, the Right Honourable Lady Northwick, in whose possession it now is.

* Vid. p. 71.

† *Legationes post mortem*.—com. by Mr. Fosbrooke.

This town, as is noticed above, gave the title of Marquis to the family of Wharton. The title became extinct on the death of Philip Duke of Wharton, in 1731.—Malmesbury now gives the titles of Baron and Earl, to the Right Honourable James (Harris*) Earl of Malmesbury, Viscount Fitzharris, of Ham-Court, in the county of Southampton, Baron Malmesbury, and Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath.

* Lord Malmesbury is the son of James Harris, esq; of Salisbury; well known in the literary world, as the author of a Philosophical Grammar, entitled *Hermes*, and several other ingenious works.

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In 1671, Godwyn Wharton, esq; was lord of the manor.† This gentleman's family, and also that of the Warnefords, were related to the Stumpes, as appears from a monument in the abbey church. Mr. Wharton, who served as member of parliament for Malmesbury in the year 1695, seems to have been possessor of the manor for a number of years. How long it continued the property of the family is uncertain, but there is reason to believe that Thomas Lord Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury, and also Philip Duke of Wharton (so notorious for the greatness of his abilities and the profligacy of his manners) were both lords of the manor, and it is not improbable that it was alienated by the latter.

Our attempts to learn the particulars of the subsequent descent of this lordship have been unavailing. We can only therefore inform the reader that the present proprietor of the manor of Malmesbury, is Lord Northwick, who inherits it from his father, the late Lord Northwick, formerly Sir John Rushout.

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* Vid. p. 71.

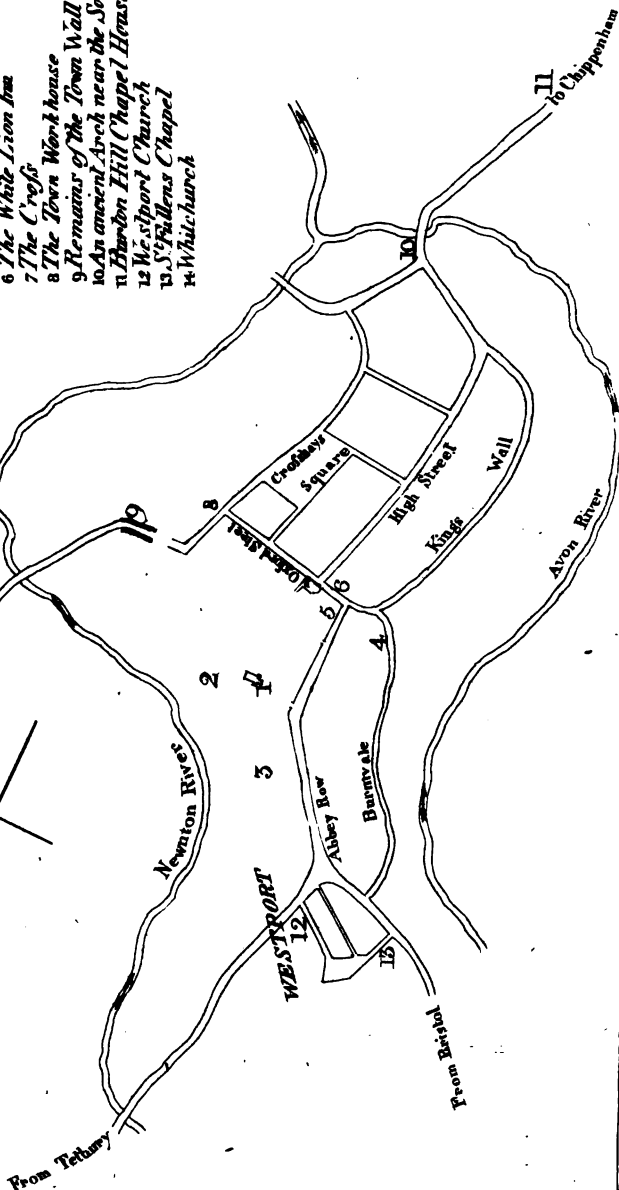
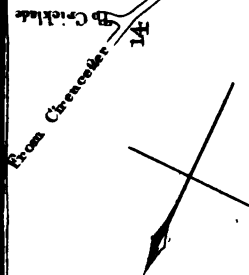
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A Ground Plan of the Town of MALMESBURY.



REFERENCES

to the Relics of Antiquity in or near
Malmesbury

- 1 The Abbey Church
- 2 The Abbots House
- 3 The Castle Well
- 4 The Chapel House
- 5 Saint Pauls
- 6 The White Lion Inn
- 7 The Cross
- 8 The Town Work house
- 9 Remains of the Town Wall
- 10 An ancient Arch near the South Bridge
- 11 Hardon Hill Chapel House
- 12 Westport Church
- 13 St. Fildens Chapel
- 14 Whitchurch

SECTION VII.

*Of the Situation of the Town—Its present State—
Public Buildings—Trade and Manufactures—
Charitable Institutions and Donations.*

THE town of Malmesbury is situated on an eminence, which is peninsulated by two streams that unite to form the lower Avon.* One of them comes from Newnton, through Brokenborough, to the north-west corner of the town, and running in a north-east direction, near the bridge at the south-east end of the town, meets with the grand head of the Avon, which comes from the village of Luckington, about seven miles off, and running along the southern side of the town, by its confluence with the other stream, makes the peninsula. The Avon also receives here a third branch, which comes from Oaksey through Hankerton, Charleton, and Gersdon. After this confluence, it runs S. W. to Chippenham, receiving several small streams during its course. Then

* Avon is a name common to several rivers in different parts of England; there is one which rises about the middle of this county, called the Upper Avon, this is sometimes confounded with the river described above. The Lower Avon according to Camden, served as a boundary to divide the kingdom of Wessex, from that of Mercia.

meeting with a branch from Corsham, it goes to Laycock and Melksham, and receiving some small streams passes on to Staverton, and S. W. of that place, meets with the Were. After this it runs to Bradford, and from thence to Freshford, a little to the east of which it is joined by the Frome. The Avon then passes on to Bathwick and Bath, receiving in its course some considerable streams. Then it goes to Keynsham, where it receives the Chute. After this confluence it runs to Briselton, and then to Bristol, beneath which it receives a small stream on each side, and passes on by Clifton and Groomshill, into the Bristol Channel.

Being situated on the road from London to Bath and Bristol, the town was formerly a considerable thoroughfare; but a new road having been made, some years past, Malmesbury is less frequented than formerly. It lies ninety-five miles west of London, and about twenty-one N. E. of Bath.

The turnpike roads in the neighbourhood, are in general exceedingly good; but this may be regarded as a modern improvement, since many of the inhabitants of the town recollect the construction of the present roads, and the comparatively impassable state of the public ways, leading to the neighbouring towns at some seasons.

About the middle of the last century, many turnpike acts were passed, and from that period the general amendment of the public roads in the west of England may be dated. Though this must have been a very desirable object, nevertheless

less it appears from the periodical publications of that era, to have met with opposition from the occupiers of land in that part of the kingdom. Among other documents, the Gentleman's Magazine has preserved a satirical poem intitled '*Dick the Western Farmer's Petition against Turnpikes.*' The following lines form a part of this curious *jeu d'esprit*:

The Irish horse ploughed with a rope to his tail,
Till an outlandish viceroy perverted the scale.
And we, if the great ones will let us alone,
Would poach in our dirt, for that dirt is our own:
And pray can you make me a handsomer show,
Than a farmer belaced with rich earth like a beau?
Where's the pleasure to dream on a uniform plain,
And what is so cool as a road full of rain?
A precipice still makes the prospect more airy,
If you fracture your neck—'tis a comic vagary.
Nine inches of track are enough for a peasant,
And gentry wont travel if roads are unpleasant:
And why should they travel who have nothing to do,
But to fool away money, and the country to view?*

The northern division of the county in which this town is situated, (formerly overrun with forests, and at present sprinkled with woods) is hilly but fertile.

The scenery around Malmesbury,

———Where the winding vale its lavish stores,
Irriguous, spreads,———.†

is not uninteresting. And though here are none of the extensive hills, the bold precipices, and the

* Gent. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 44.

† Thomson's Seasons, Spring, v. 491.

dark forests which vary the prospect in the neighbouring county of Gloucester, yet the views may be deemed by some not less pleasing, though certainly less picturesque.

Those, however, who can relish the scenery presented by a highly cultivated country, composed of gently rising grounds, and shallow vales, chequered with blooming orchards and grazing herds, may, during the genial season of spring, receive a considerable portion of gratification from those views which the Maldunian landscapes afford.

Though this town is at present surpassed by many in neatness and elegance of appearance, yet there is reason to believe that a few centuries ago, its magnificent abbey, its castle, and its fortifications, combined with the other buildings, to render it equal if not superior to any town in the county. The arrangement of the principal streets is regular and convenient. The High-street commencing at the market cross immediately opposite the south front of the abbey, passes some way in a straight line, then bending towards the east, crosses a bridge over the Avon, mentioned by Leland in his *Itinerary*,* and terminates at the grand and extensive building raised by Francis Hill, esq; for the purpose of carrying on the clothing manufacture. At the top of this last runs a street called Oxford-street; its direction is from west to east. The isolated steeple of the parish church of St.

* Vol. ii.

Paul, is situated at its western termination; from thence it passes along the top of the High-street, to the Workhouse. The situation of these two streets is such as to form a figure resembling that of the letter T. Parallel with the High-street, and a little to the east of it, is a street called Silver-street, which passing from south towards the north, through a square called Cross-Hayes, meets the end of Oxford-street at the Workhouse, and a little farther on terminates in the road leading to Cricklade, Oxford, &c. The only remaining street of importance is one called the Abbey-row, which commencing not far from the west end of the abbey leads through Westport, dividing at length into two branches; one of which terminates in the road to Tetbury and Gloucester, and the other in the road by the Cross-Hands to Bristol.

Many streets existed here formerly of which no traces are now to be perceived; though the names of several of them are preserved in old charters, title deeds, and other ancient records. The most important objects of attention in this town are the remains of antiquity: as these have been already described, the more modern public buildings next come under our notice.

These are of three classes.—Buildings devoted to the purposes of public worship; manufactories; and charitable foundations.

The first class comprehends the church of St. Mary, in the parish of Westport, and four dissenting chapels.

The parish of Westport within the borough has a church, which is a chapel of ease to the vicarage of Charlton,* a village about two miles from the town. The oldest inscription which has been discovered in it, is dated in the year 1672. The present edifice is (comparatively speaking) modern. There was doubtless a church that stood on or near the same spot heretofore. For Hobbes informs us, in the account he has given us of his life, that his father, was the minister of Westport church in the year 1558, and we learn from Willist† that J. Wymbole, was the officiating priest in 1553.

In the parish of Westport also is situated the place of public worship, belonging to the presbyterians. It was rebuilt in the year 1788. This dissenting interest has been of long standing, as may be inferred from the deed that respects the first place of worship, and also from the following anecdote, communicated by an aged member of the congregation. It appears, that in troublesome times, the minister and people assembled for divine worship in what is now called the old parsonage house: one of the town, from whom the minister then suffered persecution, was afterwards so circumstanced as to need his protection; on

* Wiltshire.——Living remaining in Charge.

WESTPORT.

King's Books, { Vicarage with Charlton, and the } Yearly Tenths.
 26l. 17s. 8d. { Chapel of Brokenborough. } 2l. 13s. 9½d.

Bateman's Royal & Ecclesiastical Gas. or Clergyman's Pocket Kalendar. p. 324.

† Hist. of Parliamentary Mitred Abbies. Vol. ii.

which

which occasion, this minister exemplified that most amiable Christian virtue, which consists in rendering good for evil. Matt. v. 44, 45.

As it appears the Rev. S. Gawen, vicar of the parish of St. Paul, Malmesbury, was ejected from thence by the act of uniformity,* it is probable that by him this society was established.

The chapel belonging to the Anabaptists, is situated in the parish of St. Mary, Malmesbury, commonly called the abbey parish. It was rebuilt in 1802. It appears that this religious society has subsisted in Malmesbury, ever since the year 1720.

In that part of the town called Holloway, is the place of worship belonging to the Moravians, erected about ten years since.

The followers of George Whitfield, have a house in Silver-street, which is opened for public worship on Sundays. This society of methodists owes its origin to the Rev. Mr. Davis, a clergyman of the established church, who died at Malmesbury a few years since.

The second class of public buildings consists of those which are devoted to the purposes of trade. Of these none are of sufficient importance to merit notice, except two spacious manufactories built some years since, by F. Hill, esq. One of these buildings is situated at the extremity of the town, where the road leading to Chippenham begins.—Here nearly all the operations necessary for making

* See Appendix, Note XXXIV.

superfine broad-cloth are carried on.* Mr. Stumpe, a great clothier here, in the reign of Henry VIII. (according to tradition) had a manufactory on or near the same spot with that just mentioned. On the western side of the town is situated another manufactory, smaller than the last, belonging also to Mr. Hill.

Repeated notices have already been given of the state of the clothing trade at Malmesbury, in former times. The town has been celebrated for its share in this branch of manufacture, almost ever since it has been introduced into England.

The members of the merchants' guild, already mentioned, page 112, were probably engaged entirely in the prosecution of the clothing trade.—The register-book of the abbey contains some documents which prove that there were some persons of rank who belonged to this corporation. Leland is the earliest author who gives any particular information relative to the state of trade in this town. He informs us that when he visited Malmesbury, (towards the middle of the sixteenth century) every corner of the vast houses of office which had belonged to the abbey were full of looms to weave cloth in, that it was intended to make a street or two for clothiers, in the back vacant ground of

* A description of the various processes which wool undergoes in being manufactured into cloth, would have been introduced here, had our limits admitted of it; but as similar accounts are to be found in several modern publications, this omission will not be regretted by many of our readers. Those who may be at a loss where to seek for information on this subject are referred to Britton's *Beauties of Wiltshire*. Vol. ii.

the abbey; and that about three thousand cloths were annually made in this place.* Camden says, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Malmesbury was in good repute on account of the clothing trade.† In a deed that bears date 1654, relating to a donation to the poor of Malmesbury, from a Mr. Grayle, he is said to have been a clothier and to have gained a plentiful estate in this town. King William's charter expresses that the borough was then inhabited by burgesses and others, largely carrying on the clothing trade and merchandize. We find from a work published in 1729, that the manufacture of medly clothing, drugget making, and fine spanish clothing, was carried on at that time in the county of Wilts, from Warminster south, to Malmesbury north inclusive.‡ About the middle of the eighteenth century at Malmesbury it became extinct.

It is somewhat probable there was a silk manufacture, in this town. In the parish register is the following memorandum. "February 26th, 1687, Robert James, of Malmesburie, silk weaver, was then declared in the abbey church, to be the parish clerk of Malmesburie, upon the death of Nathaniel Speak, broad weaver, and the late parish clerk."

Malmesbury, was famous in ancient times, for its annual fair, when a great number of strangers assembled. The fair and the method adopted to pre-

* Leland's Itin. Vol. ii.

† Camd. Britannia.

‡ The Gentleman's and Farmer's Guide, by R. Bradley, F.R.S. p. 43.

vent disorders, amidst such a concourse of people, are thus noticed by Leland. "The tounē hath a great privileg of a fair, about the fest of St. Aldelm, at which time the tounē kepith a band of harneſed men to ſee peace kept: and this is one of the bragges of the tounē, and thereby they be furniſhed with harneys."* The fair was kept (tradition ſays) in a meadow which lies a little to the ſouth-weſt of the town, and to the preſent time bears the name of St. Aldhelm's Mead. It is now the property of the Earl of Suffolk. This fair has been long diſcontinued.

The manufacture of woollen cloth at Malmesbury, having been entirely given up about 1750, no attempts were made to revive it till within theſe ten or twelve years, when the extenſive manufactory beforementioned, which furniſhes employment for great numbers belonging to the lower claſſes of ſociety, was firſt eſtabliſhed by Francis Hill, eſq.

The only trades and manufactures of importance carried on at Malmesbury, that remain to be noticed, are, brewing, tanning, lace-making, (which uſed to be the principal employment of the lower ranks of females, but is now almoſt ſuperseded by the introduction of the clothing trade) gardening, the manufacture of leather, gloves, parchement, glue, &c.

Theſe different manufactures afford ample employment for the poor inhabitants of this town.

It is to be lamented that those in the surrounding country parishes are far from being equally well employed. Previous to the invention of the numerous machines which are used in the making of woollen cloth, large quantities of wool were brought into this neighbourhood by clothiers from Gloucestershire, and elsewhere, in order to be spun into yarn. A considerable number of persons, chiefly females, were thus furnished with employment, of which they have been deprived by the new and improved arrangements in this branch of the clothing trade.—Malmesbury has a weekly market on Saturdays, for butcher's meat and other provisions. This has long been very inconsiderable, but there is a market for cattle, swine, &c. held the last Tuesday in each month, called "The Great Market;" which is in general very numerously attended. This has been established about ten years.—There are also three fairs annually, chiefly for the sale of horses and black cattle. The first is held on the 28th of March—The second on the 28th of April—and the third on the 5th of June.

The third and last class of public buildings to be noticed, comprehends those designed for the reception of objects of charity. There are no buildings of this description at Malmesbury, that are particularly remarkable; all those that were formerly attached to the monastery having been destroyed long since, or applied to other purposes. The only charitable foundations to be mentioned are two almshouses; one of them endowed by the corporation,

tion, and subsequently by Michael Weekes, esq. This is situated adjoining to the arched gateway mentioned page 97. The other almshouse was founded and endowed by Robert Jenner, citizen and goldsmith of London, but the endowment was lost more than half a century ago. This building is situated in Holloway. Neither of these almshouses have any thing in their appearance which distinguishes them from the habitations of paupers, with which they are surrounded.

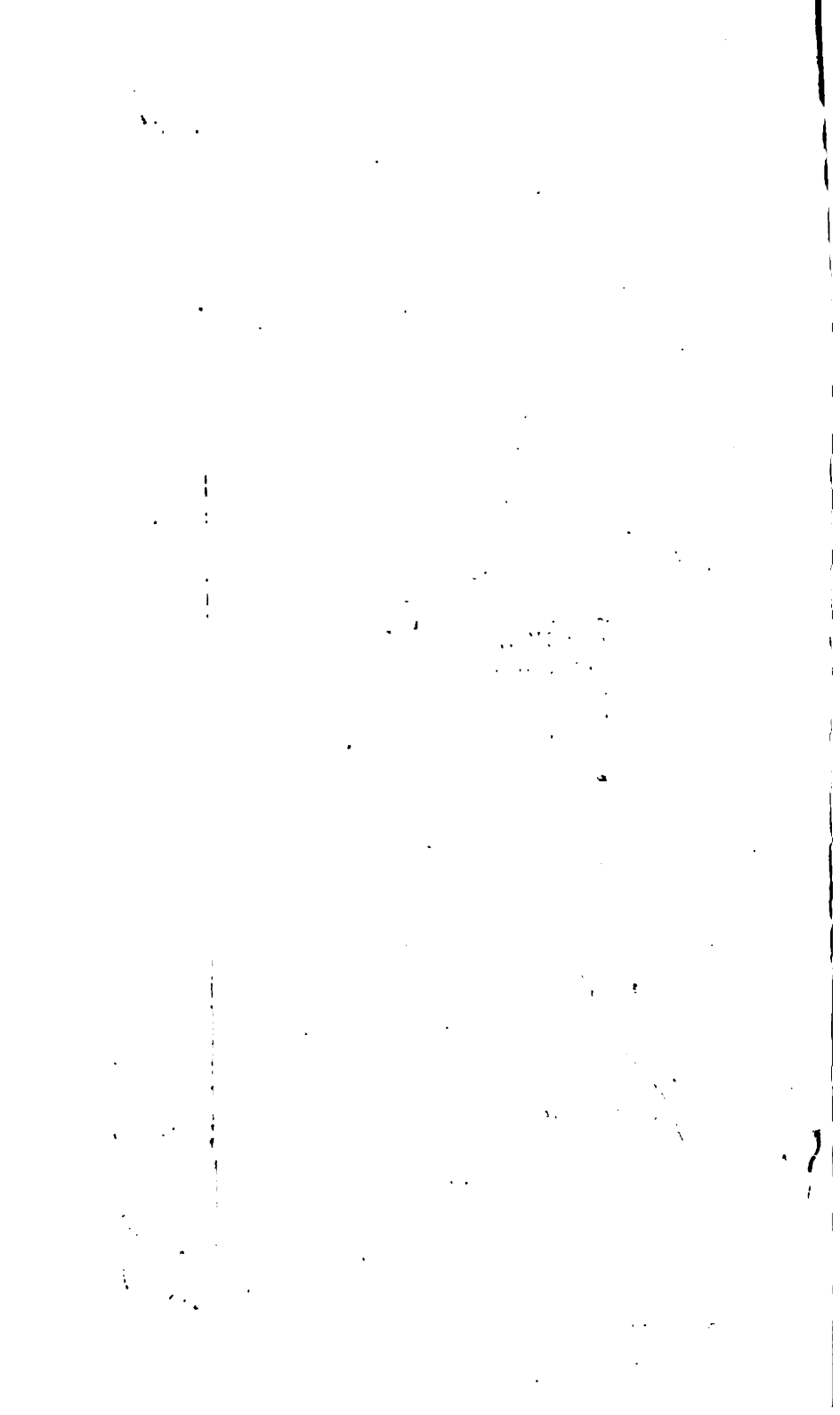
There is also a free-school partly supported by a stipend from the corporation, with an additional endowment left by Michael Weekes, esq. Another free-school in this town is endowed with a salary of thirty pounds per annum, left by Mrs. Elizabeth Hodges, of Shipton Moyne, in the county of Gloucester.*

The amount of the parish rates for the relief of paupers in this town at different periods, confirms the conclusions that have been drawn from an

* There are several charitable donations which are not connected with the buildings noticed above. The principal of these are the profits of an estate in the parish of Lea, left by Mr. Arch; ten pounds per annum by Mr. Grayle, for apprenticing poor children; the interest of one hundred pounds in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. consolidated bank annuities, by Mrs. Rowles; four hundred pounds by Mr. Arnold to purchase bank stock, the interest arising from which to be laid out in bread for the poor; and two pounds per annum to be distributed in sixpences left by Mr. Cullerne. The catalogue of public charities here is by no means equal to those which some towns can boast of. But this is not perhaps on the whole a circumstance much to be regretted; for revenues appropriated to this purpose are sometimes misapplied, and it not unfrequently happens that in consequence of their being bestowed on improper objects the poor's rate is not in the least diminished by the existence of such benefactions.

A TOWN and BOROUGH of

<i>Don</i>		<i>Present Trustees</i>	<i>Produce.</i>
Alderman Burgess lurne,	Support of a Free- maintaining poor Wi-	The Alderman and Burgesses.	23 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> per annum.
	Westport:—Twenty Hill; to be distributed Year, in Sums not Family;—Twenty reached annually on Abbey Church;— for the Trustees, on the Distributor of shillings per ann. to to be proportion- of the above-men-	Giles Canter, Daniel Smith, Edmund Lyne, R. B. Robins, George Garlick, William Adey, Benjamin Brind, John Hook.	per annum.
Mrs. A Rowley Malmesbury	Dividend to be paid the Parish of Mal- ed on Good Friday, in Proportions as they One-third to be paid port, and distributed the Poor of that Parish.	J. S. Ody, Giles Canter, Samwell Ody.	3 <i>l.</i> per annum.
Mr. W Arnold, Bristol	Expended in the Pur- to the Poor of Mal- Trustees,	J. S. Ody, Edmund Lyne, Samwell Ody.	16 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per annum.



examination into the state of this burthensome impost in other situations. The following memorandums will shew that the increase of the poor's rate, during the space of one hundred and forty years, bears no relative proportion to the alteration in the value of landed property, or to the difference in the price of provisions. All the rates collected for the support of the poor in the town parish, in the year 1664, did not exceed the sum of eighteen pounds, seven shillings, and two-pence. The paupers who then received parochial assistance were only eight in number. In the year 1801, the amount of the rates was nearly four hundred pounds; and since that time it is most enormously increased.

The general inference to be drawn from these statements is certainly not in favour of the present system of poor laws. Indeed, when we consider that the act of parliament which provides for the relief of paupers, was made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that it introduced new regulations into the police of this country, we may conclude that the imperfections now discovered in the system arise in a great measure from the alterations that have taken place in the state of society, during the long period that has elapsed since it was enacted. But whatever may be the cause of the acknowledged insufficiency of the poor laws, it is certainly desirable that they should be amended, or renewed. Many plans have been devised for this purpose, though none of them have as yet
x
been

been carried into execution; it is therefore the duty of those who are engaged in the management of the poor, to adopt such regulations as may be most suitable in particular districts, and to apply the existing laws in the most advantageous manner.*

Among the various methods which have been practised with a view to ameliorate the condition of the lower ranks of people, there is none perhaps more praiseworthy, or effectual, than the well-known institution of *Sunday Schools*. These seminaries have been the means of rescuing many individuals from a state of ignorance and barbarism, and making them valuable members of society. A Sunday school was established at Malmesbury, some years since, and it had for a time the happiest effects; but in consequence of some particular circumstances it was set aside, and it has not since been revived.

The town of Malmesbury probably contained a much greater number of inhabitants anciently than it does at present; but it appears from an examination of the parish register, that the state of the population during the last century has not fluctuated very materially. From the number of people far advanced in years whose names are to

* The author of this history has already submitted to the public, some observations on the best methods for relieving paupers, in a small pamphlet entitled, "Hints respecting a Scheme for the Relief of the unemployed Poor, and for reducing the Rates; humbly submitted to the Consideration of the Public, and particularly of Churchwardens, Overseers, and others, who assist in the Management of Parochial Concerns," 1794.

be found in the registers, it may be inferred that the situation of this town is congenial to animal life.

Malmesbury may be considered as being in a state of progressive improvement. Its buildings are certainly mended within these few years. As an additional argument for the truth of this opinion we may observe that in 1798, an act of parliament was obtained entitled "An Act for Paving the Footways, and for Cleansing, Lighting, and Regulating the Streets, and other public passages and places within the Borough of Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts; and the Avenues leading into the same; and for removing and preventing Nuisances, Annoyances, and Obstructions therein." This act is now carrying into execution.

SECTION VIII.

Particulars relating to the Abbots of Malmesbury, and other miscellaneous Information.

MALMESBURY is denominated a city in the title to King Athelstan's charter, preserved in the British Museum.* In the reign of Edred, brother of Athelstan, it appears that there was at this place a mint; for in Lowthorp's abridgment of "The Philosophical Transactions" is an account of a coin of that king, from the letters on the reverse of which the writer reads "MALMESBURY MONEY."† When Domesday-book was compiled, in the reign of William the Conqueror, Malmesbury was the first town surveyed in the county of Wilts. At the time Leland visited Malmesbury, towards the middle of the sixteenth century, its walls and gates were standing, though much decayed. Camden, in his Britannia, stiles it "a neat town."

Malmesbury had a number of churches and chapels: the remains of some have been long since turned into private dwellings; of others there are

* See Appendix, Note XXV.

† Abridg. of Phil. Transf. Vol. iii. p. 440.

no traces now existing. Some account has already been given of those foundations that have withstood the ravages of time and violence;* but the following notices from Leland's Itinerary, appear to refer to buildings of which no vestiges at present remain: "Ther was a little chirch joining to the south side of the Transeptum of th' Abbay Chirch, wher sum say Johannes Scottus, the great clerk, was slayne about the tyme of Alfrede king of the West Saxons, of his own disciples, thrusting and strykkng him with their table pointelles. Wevers have now lomes in this litle chirch, but it stondith and is a very old pece of work.†"

Leland also mentions three nunneries,‡ which are said to have been situated near the town; but neither of them was standing at the period of his visit to Malmesbury. The account already noticed,§ which this writer gives in his Collectanea, of a convent of nuns here, under the direction of Dinoth, Abbot of Bangor, if it could be depended on, would tend to demonstrate the importance of this place at an early period. But the reported connection of Dinoth with a nunnery at so great a distance from his own monastery, throws a discredit on the whole story. There is, however, no necessity for recurring to relations of disputed au-

* See Spet. V.

† Itin. Vol. ii.

‡ See page 95 (Note †) and 98, for accounts of two of these foundations: the other is said to have stood near the South Bridge, without the town, in the way to Chippenham. Itin. Vol. ii.

§ See page 85.

thority, while the accounts of Meyldulph and his illustrious scholar Aldhelm, shew that Malmesbury as a school of science, was surpassed by few, if any establishments of the kind in Britain. The ideas contained in the following lines were suggested by the perusal of the history of the foundation of Malmesbury Abbey.

SONNET TO THE AVON.

Reclin'd beside thy willow-shaded stream,
On which the breath of whisp'ring Zephyr plays,
Let me, O Avon! in untutor'd lays,
Assert thy fairest purest right to fame.

What though no myrtle bow'rs thy banks adorn,
Nor sportive Naiads wanton in thy waves,
No glitt'ring sands of gold, or coral caves
Bedeck the channel by thy waters worn;

Yet thou canst boast of honours passing these:
For when fair science left her eastern seat,
Ere Alfred rais'd her sons a fair retreat
Where Isis laurels tremble in the breeze,
'Twas there—near where thy circling streamlet flows,
E'en in yon dell, the Muses found repose.

Monastic institutions were commonly, in the early ages, nurseries of learning. Immured in the obscurity of his humble cell, the monk frequently found it necessary to relieve his solitude by studying the classic writings of the Greeks and Romans. It was natural for him to preserve with religious care the sources from whence he derived so much pleasure. Thus the solitary recluse, whose hopes and fears were confined within the narrow bounds
of

of his own convent, was the means of bestowing on succeeding generations a gift of inestimable value. But the preservation of the remains of ancient literature is not the only benefit which we have derived from monachism. To ecclesiastics we are indebted for almost all the accounts of the early parts of English history which we possess. Doubtless they were often induced to attend to this subject for their own amusement or satisfaction; and some of their writings originated in a wish to gratify private resentment, or to gain an opportunity for bestowing praise on their patrons. But whatever were the motives of the monks, we are justified in asserting that had it not been for their labours, the earlier periods of the history of this country would have been enveloped in obscurity.*

As another part of this history is dedicated to the purpose of recording individual instances of monastic merit and celebrity,† we shall now proceed to give an account of the superiors of the monastery.

The antiquity of Malmesbury abbey, and the confusion that occurs in its history, in consequence of the destruction of monastic charters and other records, which happened at the reformation, render it impossible at present to give a complete catalogue of the abbots who presided here from the foundation of the abbey till its dissolution. That

* See Andrews's Hist. of Gr. Brit. Vol. i. p. 38.

† See Sect. IX.

Industrious antiquary Brown Willis, has however collected the names of forty-six of them. To his labours we are chiefly indebted for the following account.

Meyldulph,* who retired to this place and occasioned the foundation of the abbey, is reckoned the first abbot: though the abbey was scarcely founded till his death, which happened about the year 676. *Adelm*, or *Aldhelm*, his scholar succeeded him. He governed this abbey thirty-four years, and held the same, according to some authors, *in commendam* with the bishopric of Shirebourne; of which see he was consecrated bishop in 705. He died May 25th, 709.

On the decease of Aldhelm, or rather as Mr. Wharton's collections shew us, upon his being made bishop in 705, *Daniel* became abbot. To him succeeded in the year 746, *Adelm*, or *Aldhelm*, nephew to the former of that name.—However he is mentioned as the next abbot in William of Malmesbury, who omits Daniel; though Dr. Tanner doubts whether or no there was a second Aldhelm.

Ethelard occurs next. He was in 780, promoted to the bishopric of Winchester; and then translated in 793 or 794, to Canterbury. It is

* A reliquary which is said to have contained some relics of Meyldulph, is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. ii. pl. 51, 52. It was supposed to have been brought from Rome in the eighth century by Aldhelm. A particular description of this antique may be seen in Gough's *Sepulchral Monumenta*. Introd. vol. ii. p. cxvii.

said in *Anglia Sacra*, that Ethelard left the abbey in 754.

Cuthbert appears to have succeeded him; and continued in possession of the abbacy at least till the year 796.

After *Cuthbert* we meet with no account of the abbots of Malmesbury, for the space of nearly two hundred years. This is rather a remarkable circumstance, since it was during this period that King Athelstan bestowed various privileges and donations on the monastery. Perhaps the secular priests who possessed the abbey after the monks were ejected by King Edwy, might have destroyed its records, and thus rendered obscure one of the most flourishing parts of its history. In Domesday-book one *Alestan* is mentioned as having been abbot of Malmesbury; but as we are not informed when he lived, it must be uncertain how far this may be the proper place to introduce him.

The monks being restored to the possession of the abbey by King Edgar in 974, *Elfric* or *Alfred* was appointed abbot. In 977, he was made Bishop of Crediton, and succeeded here by *Athelwerd*, or *Ethelwerd*. He was abbot in 982, and his successor was *Kineward*, of whom, and of the five following we have merely the names. They were *Brichtelmus*, *Britchwaldus*, *Edricus*, *Wulsinus*, and *Britchwoldus*.

This last was succeeded by *Egelward*, who continued abbot ten years. His successor was *Elwinus*, who sat a year and a half, and was then replaced

replaced by *Brictwold* or *Brickwold*. He continued superior of this monastery seven years, and died in 1057. On his decease Herman bishop of Wilton, conceived the design of removing the episcopal see to Malmesbury. The grandeur and extent of the abbey, (to the increase of which he had himself contributed,*) was probably his chief inducement to this attempt. But though he obtained permission from King Edward the Confessor, to execute his project, it proved entirely unsuccessful. For the monks by means of their interest with Earl Godwin, who governed the royal councils, procured a revocation of the grant; and shut the doors of the monastery against the bishop. They took care also to supply themselves with a superior by electing *Brithric*, who had been Prior of the monastery. Herman was so disgusted at the treatment he had received from the monks that he gave up his bishopric, and left the kingdom; but he returned not long after, on the death of *Elfwold* bishop of Sherborn; and accepting of that see, he united it with Wilton, and removed to Sarum.†

Brithrio was deposed by King William the Conqueror, who made *Twrald* a monk of Fescamp

* See p. 75.

† Several of our ancient historians tell us that the see of the bishop of Bath and Wiltsire, was fixed at Malmesbury; as Abingdon, the historiographer, and Radulphus de Diceto, who calls Odo (who was bishop of Ramsbury,) bishop of Malmesbury; and Gervase of Tilbury, when he says that St. Aldhelm had the city of Maidulf, that is Scireburn. Gibbon's edit. of Camden's Britannia, p. 102.

All these mistakes probably originated from the circumstance noticed above.

in Normandy, abbot in his room. He was translated in the year 1070, from hence to the see of Peterborough.

Warin de Lira succeeded next; who died in 1081.

He was succeeded by *Godfrey Gemeticensis*, procurator of the abbey of Ely, whom William the Conqueror translated hither. He died in 1105; and was succeeded by *Edulf*, a monk of Winchester, who was elected into office in the following year, as the *Annales Wintonienses* inform us.—After he had governed twelve years, *Roger*, Bishop of Salisbury, deposed him in 1118, usurped his place, and kept the same till his death, which happened in December, 1139. Early in the following year, the monks of Malmesbury, elected to the abbacy, *John*, a member of this convent. He is said to have been a man remarkable for the beneficence of his manners, and the liberality of his mind. The pope's legate refused to sanction the election, and the monks were obliged at length to purchase his consent.*

John

* Anno incarnati Verbi 1140, Monachi abbatiarum, quas Rogerius episcopus contra fas tenuerat, rege adito antiqua privilegia & abbates habere meruerunt. Electus est in Abbatem Malmesberie a Monachis secundum tenorem privilegii, (quod beatus Aldelmus a Sergio Papa jam ante 466 annos impetraverat, & a regibus Westsaxonum Ina, Merciorum Ethelredo roborari fecerat) ejusdem loci Monachus Johannes, vir benignitate morum, & animi liberalitate apprime insignis. Probavit Legatus causam improbavit personam. Nullo enim modo menti ejus persuaderi poterat regem præter dationem pecunie electioni consensisse. Et quidem aliquantum nummorum promissum fuerat causa libertatis ecclesie non electionis persone. Itaque Johannes quamvis immatura morte anno eodem præreptus fuerit, æternam tamen et laudabilem sui memoriam cunctis post se seculis dereliquit: Nullus enim (verè fateor) ejus loci Monachus

John continued abbot but a few months, dying in September, the same year.—William of Malmesbury, mentions an event as having happened during the government of this superior, which must not be passed by without notice.

One Robert, a marauding soldier, took possession of the castle of Devizes, and from thence made irruptions into the surrounding country, committing horrid cruelties, and directing his vengeance principally against churches and monasteries. He attempted to destroy Malmesbury Abbey; and put to death all monks. All those at least who remained in the convent at the time of his attack.*

The next abbot was *Peter*, who, in 1142, assisted in a triumphal procession, when the Empress Mathilda entered the city of Winchester†. The time of his death is uncertain.

Gregory, occurs next as abbot, in 1159. *Robert*, was abbot in the year 1174. He was succeeded by *Osbert Foliot*, prior of Gloucester, in 1180, who dying in 1181, or according to *Annales Wigornenses*, in 1182, had for his successor *Nicholas* a monk of St. Alban's, prior of Wallingford, from whence he was translated hither.—About the year 1175, King Henry II. sent Nicholas then prior of Wallingford, together with William Fitzadelm, into Ireland, with the bull of Pope Alexander

nachus tantæ magnanimitatis facto assisteret, nisi Johannes inchoasset. Itaque habeant successores ejus laudem, si libertatem ecclesiæ tutati fuerint, ipse proculdubio eam a servitute vendicavit. G. Malmes. Hist. Novellæ Lib. ii.

* See Appendix, Note XXXV.

† Hist. Nov. id. Lib.

III. in confirmation of the bull of Pope Adrian IV. and also that bull whereby Adrian granted the lordship of Ireland to the king.*—He was deposed in 1187, and *Robert de Melun* sub-prior of Winchester, was made abbot in his place.—He died in 1205, and *Walter* whose surname appears to have been *Loring*, succeeded to the office of abbot, which he kept till his death in 1222.

He was succeeded by *John Wallensis*. In the year 1224, the ninth of Henry III. this abbot attested Magna Charta.†

The next abbot was *Jeffry*, who was elected in 1246. He probably continued in office till 1260, when *William de Colern* became superior of the monastery. He held this station thirty-six years, dying in 1296. *William de Badminton* succeeded him. He died in 1324. *Adam Atte Hok* or *de la Hooke*, then became abbot. According to Leland he died at Malmesbury in 1340.‡ The next abbot was *John de Tintern*; on whose death in 1348, *Simon de Aumeney* was raised to the abbacy. In the records of Edward III. there is a grant of a pardon to the abbot of Malmesbury, who it seems had been guilty of concealing Robert de Gurnay, one of the persons who perpetrated the murder of King Edward II. in Berkeley Castle.

* See Ware's Ireland, C. 7. p. 13. Com. by Mr. Fobbrooke.

† See Statutes at Large, by J. Keble. fol. p. 5.

‡ Collectanea Vol. i. p. 307.

Whether this pardon was granted to the last named abbot, or to De la Hooke, or Tintern, is not exactly ascertained. De Aumeney died in 1360, and was succeeded by *Walter Cumme*, the time of whose death is uncertain. Probably it happened in 1396, when *Thomas de Chelesworth* was made abbot. His successor appears to have been named *William*, who according to Mr. Wharton's Collections, was abbot in 1423.

Robert Persore was elected abbot in 1424, and governed this monastery till his death in 1434. *Thomas Bristow* succeeded him, who dying in 1456, had for his successor *John Andover*, who then became abbot. He died in 1462. His successor was *John Aylee*, the time of whose death is uncertain, but most probably it was in 1479.

Thomas Otveston, after this had the temporalities of this abbey delivered to him, as appears by the patent rolls. He died in 1509. *Richard Frampton*, succeeded him, "whom (says Willis) I take to be the same with Richard whose surname was Frampton alias Selwin, the last abbot, who surrendered his convent, December 15, 1539."* This ingenious antiquary however, seems to have been mistaken in his opinion, for the name of the last abbot was *Robert Frampton* or *Selwin*, as appears from an original paper which this writer has himself copied; and which we shall lay before the reader.

* Hist. of Parl. Mitr. Abbies. Vol. i. p. 140.

A List of the pensions assigned to the abbot and monks of Malmesbury Abbey at the dissolution of monasteries. Extracted from the book of pensions remaining in the augmentation office.

“The names of th’ Abbott and bretherne of the late monastery of Malmesburye, with their pensions to theym assigned by the king’s commysioners appointed to take the surrendre of the saide monasterye, the same to be paid unto them yerely during their lyves at 2 termes of the yere, viz. at the Feasts of th’ Annunciation of our Lady, and Sainct Michall th’ Archangel. The first payment to begynne at the Fest of th’ Annunciation of our Lady which shal be in the yere of our Lord God, 1540.”

Robert Frampton alias Selwin Abbott, 200 Marc;
Walter Stacey, sen. steward of lands and chamberer 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* John Coddington B. D. prior.
Walter Sutton B. D. sub-prior, 10*l.* each. Thomas Tewkesburye sen. Philippe Bristowe, sen.—
John Gloucester, sen. and tierce prior, Richard Pilton, Stewarde to th’ abbott, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* each;
John Cantine, Warden of the chapel, 8*l.* Rauff Sherwood, sen. Richard Asheton, sen. and farmerer, Antonie Malmesbury, sen. and sub-sexton,
William Alderley, Thomas Dorselye, Thomas Gloucester, John Horseley, Chauntor, Thomas Stanley, Pitancier, William Brystowe, Thomas Froster, prest and student, Robert Elmore, prest, William Wynhecombe, and William Byfley, 6*l.* each. Also the said abbott to have one tenement
in

in the highe strete within the towne of Bristowe (Bristol) late in the tenure of Thomas Harte; and one garden lying in the suburbes of the saide towne agens^t the Crosse called the Red Crosse, late in the tenure of the same Thomas Harte, for terme of lyffe, of the said late abbott, sine aliquo inde red-dendo.

Sign'd

Robert Southwell.

Edward Carne.

John London.

*Will. Berners.**

Most of these pensions dropped in consequence of the deaths of the *ci-devant* abbot and most of the monks before the year 1553; for in the Pension Rolls in that year we find that only *seven* persons then received pensions, of which number four were married. The dividends which these seven received amounted to but fifty-three pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence; which with thirty-nine pounds in annuities and fees, was all that issued out of the revenues of this late flourishing monastery. The following are the names of the monks who received pensions in 1553. Walter Stacey, Richard Asheton, Thomas Froster, and Thomas Stanley, who were married; Walter Sutton, Anthony Malmesbury, and John Horseley, who were unmarried. The sums they respectively received may be seen in the above list.†

* Willis' Hist. of Parl. Mitr. Abbies, Vol. II. Addenda p. 63, and 64.

† Id. Lib. Vol. I. p. 240.

Some account has already been given of the principal benefactions bestowed on the monastery of Malmesbury; but no notice has been taken of the amount of the revenues of the abbot. Three records are at present in existence, which contain catalogues of the landed property possessed by the inhabitants of this convent, at three different periods. These are Edward the Confessor's charter, granted in 1065; Domesday-book, compiled in 1081; and Pope Innocent's bull, issued in 1248. But as Domesday-book alone contains an account of the value of the abbey lands, we are under the necessity of drawing up our estimate entirely from that work.

An account of the landed property of the abbot of Malmesbury, in the year 1081.

The church of St. Mary* at Malmesbury holds the manor of Hiwei (modern name

Hywaye) Wilts, 11 hides; valued at, <i>per</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
<i>annum</i>	8	0
Dantesiet† (Dantsey) 10 hides	6	0
Sumreford‡ (Summerford Keynes) 5 hides	5	0
Brecheorde§ (Brinkworth) 5 hides	4	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	23	0

* Meyldulph's first church was dedicated to our blessed Saviour, St. Peter, and St. Paul; but in King Edgar's time the abbey was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Aldhelm. Grose's Antiquities.

† Here was a mill which paid twenty shillings rent; and a wood three quarters of a mile square.

‡ A mill in this manor paid twenty shillings.

§ It contained a wood two furlongs in length and one in breadth.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
	23	0
Nortone* (Norton) 5 hides	4	0
Brocheneberge† (Brökenborough) 50 hides	30	0
Chemele† (Kemble) 30 hides	13	0
Newentone§ (Newnton) 30 hides	12	0
Cerletone (Charlton) 20 hides	8	0
Gardone¶ (Gersdon) 3 hides	5	0
Credvelle** (Crudwell) 40 hides	4	0
Breme†† (Bramhill) 38 hides	16	0
Piritone‡‡ (Purton) 35 hides	16	0
Litelton (Littleton) Gloucestershire, 5 hides	5	0
Niwebold (Newbold) Warwickshire 3 hides	2	10
Total	138	10

The sum of one hundred and thirty-eight pounds ten shillings appears to be but a small annual in-

* Had a mill which paid fifteen shillings.

† In this manor were eight mills, they paid six pounds, twelve shillings, and six-pence. It contained a wood four miles and half long, and three miles broad.

‡ Had two mills which paid fifteen shillings. A wood one mile and half long, and three furlongs broad.

§ Here were two mills which paid thirty shillings.

|| In this manor was a mill which paid fifteen shillings. It contained a wood two furlongs in length, and one in breadth.

¶ Had two mills which paid twenty-five shillings, and a wood three quarters of a mile long, and two furlongs broad.

** Contained a wood three miles square.

†† In this manor were two mills which paid thirty shillings. A wood three miles long, and two furlongs broad.

‡‡ Had a mill which paid five shillings. Contained a wood three miles square.

come;

come; but when a proper allowance is made for the difference in the weight of coin, and for the depreciation which money has sustained in consequence of its becoming more plenty, we shall find that the abbots of Malmesbury were in reality possessed of a princely revenue.

The Norman pound, which is used in the valuations contained in the Domesday-book, was a pound weight of silver, divided into twenty shillings, each equal in weight, to three modern shillings. Therefore, in order to bring these ancient valuations to the same sterling standard as the present coin, it will be necessary to multiply the respective sums by three, which will give the annual rents in modern money. The next point to be ascertained is the proportionate value that money bore at the time of the conquest, to what it does at present. This may be most accurately done by drawing a comparison between the prices of labour at these different periods. Mr. Wyndham has brought forward some authorities, which render it probable that the weekly pay of labourers was equal to about eleven-pence of our money, at the period in question. The author of a critique on Mr. Wyndham's work published in the Monthly Review, conceives this valuation to be fixed too high; and thinks the wages of labourers did not amount to more than nine-pence per week, in the reign of William the Conqueror. If this last statement be admitted, and the present price of labour be estimated at seven shillings and six-pence per

per week, it will appear that the necessities of life are worth ten times as much now as they were in 1081; and consequently the depreciation in the value of money is in the same ratio.* In order therefore to discover the present worth of the abbot's revenues, it follows that the amount as given in Domesday-book, must be multiplied by thirty; this will raise it to upwards of four thousand pounds per annum. And this sum probably is not equal to one third of the annual rent of these estates at the present time; since in consequence of improvements in agriculture, and from some other causes, land is worth three times as much as it was formerly.

This estimate of the present probable value of the revenues of the abbot, may perhaps appear somewhat extravagant. However Mr. Locke, of Highbridge, in a paper entitled "An Historical Account of the Marsh-Lands of the County of Somerset," has given a statement of the relative value of those lands from whence it appears that the increase in value of those lands is beyond all proportion greater than that which we have assigned for the manors of the abbot. Mr. Locke says "if we go so far back as Domesday-book, we shall find that the annual average value of marsh-land was at that æra estimated at one farthing per acre, allowing the same quantity of acres to have then existed, as are at present charged

* See Wyndham's Wiltshire extracted from Domesday-book, &c. Pref. p. xii. and seq.—Monthly Review Enl. Vol. ii. p. 331.

on the parish books. For the first four hundred years after this period, lands doubled their value every century; and from the reformation to the present time, the value of land has been doubled every 50 years. This enormous increase of landed property within the interval of 700 years may be estimated as two thousand is to unity, supposing we reckon a little more than forty shillings per acre for the present annual average value.”*

The following table given by Mr. Locke, as it is drawn from historical data, may be deemed of sufficient importance to arrest the attention of the reader.

Annual value per acre (of the Somerset marsh-lands) at different periods, from the conquest to the present time.

						<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
In 1086	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0½
1191	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	0½
1292	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	1
1399	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	2
1500	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	4
1550	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	7½
1600	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	3
1650	(Inter-regnum)					0	2	6
1688	(Revolution)					0	5	0
1745	(Scots Rebellion)					0	10	0
1796	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	0½

* Letters and papers of the Bath Society. Vol. VIII. p. 259.

† Id. p. 260.

It is pretty certain that the greatest part, if not all the property of the abbot of Malmesbury noticed in Domesday-book, was in a higher state of cultivation, when that work was compiled, than the marshes to which Mr. Locke refers: of course the difference between the value then assigned to it and its present value, cannot be so great, but in all probability it is much greater than we have stated it to be.

The general statement of the annual revenues of the abbot of Malmesbury by the king's commissioners,* which was made just before the dissolution of monasteries, cannot be considered as affording any certain information: since it is well known that the accounts they gave in, were shamefully-inaccurate; and that the monasterial possessions were every where amazingly undervalued.†

The Arms of the Abbot of Malmesbury.

Upon a Chief argent, a Mitre or; between two Crosiers azure. On the fess and nombril points, two Lions passant gardant or. The base gules.

* In the catalogue of religious houses in England and Wales, delivered to Hen. VIII. in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, the revenues of Malmesbury Abbey are stated at 803l. 17s. 7d. Dugdale.

† See p. 60.

SECTION IX.

Biographical Notices of eminent Natives, and other remarkable Persons who were connected with the Abbey or Town.

MALMESBURY having been formerly a place of considerable importance, many illustrious characters have had some connection with it. The present section however will be confined, *principally*, to the history of persons who were natives of the town, or who appear to have spent a considerable part of their lives in it. In the number of those who come under either of these descriptions, are to be found individuals who ranked among the most exalted characters of the times in which they lived. There are indeed one or two names among those noticed in the following account, which are not equally celebrated; but though they appear perhaps for the first time on the historic page, they will not be found to do it any discredit. "It is the custom of the world to prefer the pompous histories of great men, before the greatest virtues of others, whose lives have been led in a course less illustrious. This indeed is the general humour. But I believe it to be an error in men's judgments. For certainly
that

that is a more profitable instruction which may be taken from the eminent goodness of men of lower rank, than that which we learn from the splendid representations of the battles, and victories, and buildings, and sayings of great commanders and princes. Such specious matters, as they are seldom delivered with fidelity, so they serve but for the imitation of a very few; and rather make for the ostentation than the true information of human life. Whereas it is from the practice of men equal to ourselves, that we are more naturally taught how to command our passions, to direct our knowledge, and to govern our actions.”*

These biographical sketches will be arranged as nearly as possible in chronological order. Meyl-dulph, the first abbot of Malmesbury, would consequently have engaged our earliest attention, if every thing of importance that is known concerning him had not been already laid before the reader.†

ST. ALDHELM.

Aldhelm, or Adelm, whose literary attainments would have done honour to any age, occurs first in point of time among those of whom we are about to give an account. He has been deservedly deemed one of the few luminaries who relieved the darkness of the seventh century.‡

* Spirit's Life of Cowley, prefixed to his works. Vol. I, p. xxiiv.

† See p. 35, &c. and p. 172.

‡ Gen. Biog. Vol. I. Art. Aldhelm.

Historians in general concur in representing Aldhelm as the son of Kenter or Kenred, the brother of Ina king of Wessex. But William of Malmesbury says that Ina had only one brother, whose name was Inigild;* and that Kenter was not the brother of Ina, though he was nearly related to him.† Aldhelm is said by some to have been born at Malmesbury; but neither the place nor time of his birth can be ascertained with certainty. His principal tutors were Meyldulph, Adrian, abbot of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, one of the most learned professors in England, and Theodore archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Wharton indeed says that Albin, the pupil of Adrian, was his preceptor.‡ Whether he entered on his studies first at Malmesbury as some have asserted, we cannot determine. Dugdale says, that Aldhelm was brought up at Malmesbury, and in order to learn logic, went to Adrian; and then returned to Meyldulph, and was shorn.§ But William the Historian, begins the account of his education with informing us that Kenter sent his

* Fuerunt qui dicerent cum (sc. Aldhelmum) Regis nepotem fuisse ex Kentio fratre, sed non placuit nobis pro vero arrogare, quod magis videtur opinioni blandiri volaticæ, quam stabilitati convenire historicæ præsertim cum nusquam ab antiquo scriptum reperiatur, & cronica palam pronunciet Inam nullum fratrem habuisse præter Inigildum; qui paucis annis ante ipsum decessit. Non eget Aldelmus ut mendaciis afferatur, tanta sunt de illo quæ Indubiam depromant fidem, tot sunt quæ non veniant in litem. De Gestis Reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 2.

† De Vita Aldhelmi—in XV. Scriptor.

‡ History of English Poetry. Diff. II.

§ Monast. Ang. Vol. i. p. 50.

son to Canterbury, where Adrian then resided in the centre of science, and read lectures on English History.* It appears that at Malmesbury he was instructed in the Latin and Greek languages; in the knowledge of which, he made an extraordinary proficiency. After he became a monk he returned to study at Canterbury, but was obliged to leave that place on account of his health; as appears from a letter addressed by Aldhelm to Adrian.—Aldhelm took the monastic habit about the year 662, fourteen years before the death of Meyldulph.

Aldhelm appears to have been a very active and useful member of the community to which he had attached himself. Monasteries were not in those early ages extensive and regular institutions, having a number of officers, under various degrees of subordination, to preside over their internal economy. In the time of Meyldulph, the management of the affairs of the convent, probably devolved entirely on the abbot. But Meyldulph seems to have been far advanced in years, when Aldhelm joined this society; in consequence of which, he soon became associated with his preceptor, in the government of the abbey. Their joint endeavours to raise the credit of the new establishment, and the charter granted them by the bishop of Winchester, have been noticed already.† It is universally acknowledged

* De Vit. Aldh.

† See p. 36 and 37.

that the increasing reputation of the monastery at this period, was in a great measure owing to the industry and abilities of Aldhelm. But the liberality of this illustrious ecclesiastic was not confined within the walls of his convent. William of Malmesbury, gives the following account of his philanthropic endeavours, to reform the barbarous manners of the inhabitants of Malmesbury. ‘Aldhelm having been perfectly instructed in the learned languages, studied his native tongue, and also the rules of poetical composition: so that according to *Elfred*, he surpassed all his contemporaries in writing English poetry; and was remarkable for his skill as a vocal performer of music, and as an orator. Elfred also mentions a copy of verses, which he was accustomed to sing in public. The motives which induced him thus to descend in some measure from the dignity of his profession, were highly laudable; wisely considering, that sermons, or serious addresses, were not likely to attract the attention of the rough and uncivilized people who dwelt in the vicinity of the monastery, this politic reformer assumed the attractive manners of a *Troubadour*. He placed himself on one of the bridges which led from the town, to some of the neighbouring villages, and when he had collected a crowd by singing some amusing songs, he, after a time, induced them to attend to such discourses as were calculated to ameliorate their manners. This mode of conduct he no doubt pursued for a considerable length of time

time; and his exertions were finally crowned with the desired success.*

The same author after celebrating the diligence, piety, and justice of Aldhelm, informs us, that in order to mortify his body, he was accustomed to plunge himself up to the shoulders, in a fountain which was near the abbey. This discipline he continued, notwithstanding the severity of the frost in the winter, or the fogs that arose from the marshes in the summer. He even practised it during the night, without any injury accruing from it to his health. This fountain called *holy well* is situated in the valley of the convent. It runs with a gentle stream, and is agreeable to the sight, and pleasant to the taste. In another spot, near the town, is a spring called Daniel's Well; because in that place holy Daniel kept watch by night, when he was invested by Aldhelm with the pontifical robes.†

On the death of Meyldulph, in 676, Aldhelm succeeded him; and occupied the station of abbot twenty-eight years. It was probably during this period, that he composed those works which have so much contributed to preserve his fame.

* De. Vit. Aldh.

† This spring still retains the name of Daniel's Well. It rises in a hillock, situated a little to the west of the town, and after running two or three hundred yards, falls into the Avon. It is remarkable for the clearness and limpidity of its stream, and for the excellence of the water. The discipline which abbot Daniel underwent, seems to have been a work of supererogation; for it does not appear from authors who have written on the subject, that this ceremony was commonly practised, previous to the inauguration of the abbot.—See Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*. Vol. i. part 2,

When

When Ina, king of the West Saxons, divided his kingdom into two dioceses; Winchester and Sherborne; he bestowed the latter on Aldhelm, for whom he had a profound respect. Aldhelm hereupon visited Rome, and was consecrated by Pope Sergius I. During his stay with that Pontiff, Godwin tells us, that he reproved him to his face for his incontinence.* Bale, indeed, gives a different account, and blames Aldhelm for not having availed himself of the opportunity which his intimacy with the pope, afforded for admonishing him.† It seems probable however, that Bale had no just ground for casting such a reflection on Aldhelm. For the regard which Aldhelm always shewed for religion and virtue, the purity of his own character, the great courage which he possessed, and the intimacy which subsisted between him and Pope Sergius,—all contribute to render it probable, that he did admonish his holiness. It is not unlikely that the rebuke was given in private; since he could not have spoken with freedom in public, nor have expected that his address would have a good effect on the pontiff.—Aldhelm when he returned from Rome, brought with him various curiosities; in the number of which, was an altar of white polished marble, a foot and half in thickness, four feet in length, and three spans in breadth; with a compact ledge or border of the same material, projecting on every side from the top of it.‡

* De Præful. Ang.

† De Script. Brit.

‡ G. Malmes, de Vit. Aldh.

At the time that he became settled in his bishopric, which was about the year 705, Aldhelm may be considered as having attained the highest pitch of literary fame. The knowledge of his learning was so widely extended, that his correspondence was much sought by the literati of those times. Arevelle, a prince of Scotland, who had employed himself in writing, sent his works to Aldhelm for correction; requesting him to rub off the Scotch rust, and give them the last polish.

He was likewise a friend of the persecuted Wilfrid, archbishop of York.

While Aldhelm was bishop of Sherborne, in all probability, he founded the convents of Frome,* and Bradford.† William of Malmesbury also informs us, that he induced King Ina to expend an immense sum of money, in erecting and ornamenting a chapel at Glastonbury.‡ Neither did

* "The monastery at Frome was founded in 705, in honour of St. John the Baptist. The monks that composed this society were obliged to disperse, on account of the persecution of the Danes, during their inroads into those parts; and they seem never afterwards to have reassembled. But the church existed so late as the reign of King Stephen; as we learn from William of Malmesbury, who tells us, that in his days it was still standing, and by its durability had defeated the shock of ages. G. Malmes. de. Vit. Aldh. in Ang. Sac. tom. ii. p. 8. There are some vestiges of this old building still remaining, in that part of the town which is called Lower Keyford; and are now converted into small tenements for poor families." Collinson's Hist. of Somersetsh. Vol. ii. p. 186.

† "Bradanford or Bradford.—Here was an ancient monastery, dedicated to St. Laurence, and founded by St. Aldhelm." Tanner's Notitia Monastica. p. 592.—This prelate built several other churches, or chapels, in different parts of England.

‡ De Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 2.

he neglect the monastery in which he had been educated; for besides the privileges which Aldhelm procured from Pope Sergius I. the donations bestowed by Ina, on Malmesbury Abbey, may be justly supposed to have been granted in consequence of his solicitation.*

The writings of Aldhelm are very numerous, and relate to a variety of subjects. The regard he had for learning, and the nature of those scientific and literary pursuits which chiefly engaged his attention, are well represented in a letter which he wrote to Hedda, bishop of Winchester. Some idea of the extent of his studies, may be formed from the following account of his writings. The relative periods at which his different treatises were composed, cannot be ascertained; but the circumstances which gave rise to some of them have been recorded.

Aldhelm at the request of his diocesan, wrote a book "Against the mistakes of the Britons, concerning the celebration of Easter." This brought over many of them to the Catholic usage, with regard to that festival. He wrote "A Treatise on the Eight Principal Virtues;" "Of the Dignity of the Number Seven, collected from the Flowers of the Old and New Testaments, and from the Doctrines of Philosophers;"—"Of the Admonition of Brotherly Charity:"—"Of the Nature of Insensible Things, metaphorically said to

* Vid. p. 38. huj. lib.

be indued with speech;”—“ Of the Monastic Life;”—“ Of the Praise of the Saints;”—“ Of Arithmetic;”—“ Of Astrology;”—“ Of the Rules of metrical Feet;”—“ Of the Figures called Metaplasm and Synalœpha;”—“ Of the Scanning and Elipses of Verses;”—“ A Dialogue concerning Metre;”—“ Homilies and Epistles;”—These pieces which are written in Latin, are mentioned by Bede and William of Malmesbury, but are not now extant. The poetical works of Aldhelm are “ Enigmas,” consisting of one thousand verses, written in imitation of the poet Symphorius;—“ Ballads” in the Saxon language with other pieces, which were published by Martin Delrio, of Mentz, octavo, 1601. He likewise wrote a treatise partly in prose, and partly in hexameter verse, “ In Praise of Virginity;”* dedicated to Ethelburga, Abbess of Barking. It is to be found among Bede’s *Opuscula*.

In a passage from one of his treatises on metre, cited by William of Malmesbury, Aldhelm boasts of himself, as the first Englishman who introduced Latin poetry into England. “ These things con-

* In the British Museum, *Bibliotheca Regia* M. S. S. are three copies of Aldhelm’s treatise *de Laude Virginitatis*; one of which contains a very antique portrait of the author. To another of these M. S. S. are appended, *Nomina Reliquarum, quarum partem dedit gloriosissimus & victoriosissimus.*
. . . Monasterio Scæ Mariæ,—*Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, liber Alter* per H. Wanley, fol. p. 182.—The names of the donor and of the monastery have been obliterated; but probably the reliques referred to, were those given by King Athelstan to the abbey of Malmesbury. Vid p. 39. *huj. lib.*

cerning the kinds and measure of verse, I have written according to my ability, not without much labour; with what profit I cannot say, but I am conscious that I have a right to adopt the boast of the Roman Poet.

Primus ego in patriam mecum modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas."*

Aldhelm is also said to have translated part of the Bible. "That the Saxons read the Bible in their own language is an opinion well authenticated; some parts at least, having been translated by Adelm, bishop of Sherborne, Eadfrid or Ecbert bishop of Lindisferne, the venerable Bede, and King Alfred."†

The conduct of Aldhelm after his promotion to the rank of episcopacy, was highly suitable to his station. As William of Malmesbury informs us, he was chiefly employed in endeavouring to promote the interests of religion.

* Some authors who have given an account of the life of Aldhelm, have quoted these lines, and have unaccountably represented him as having composed them. Among others, Camden, in his *Britannia*, has fallen into this mistake. The verses however, are Virgil's; — (vid. *Georgic. Lib. iii. v. 10.*) It must be acknowledged that they are admirably adapted to the situation of Aldhelm. Dryden loosely translates them as follows:

"I, first of Romans, shall in triumph come
From conquer'd Greece, and bring her trophies home."

One of those writers who attributes the original to our Anglo-Roman Poet, has given a more literal but less elegant version.

"I, to my country first, if fates permit,
Will bring the muses from their native seat."

† Supplementary Addenda and Corrigenda to Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible. Art. Bible.

He retained possession of his bishopric about four years, and died May 25, 709, at Doulting,* in Somersetshire. His body was brought to Malmesbury; and buried in a chapel which he had built, and dedicated to the honour of God and St. Michael, by Egwin, an holy monk.† The funeral was celebrated with magnificence; and is said to have been remarkable for the performance of a curious ceremony. On account of the miracles attributed to Aldhelm, stone crosses were fixed to some of the mile-stones, whilst the funeral procession passed along the road.‡

In the reign of King Edwy, the bones of Aldhelm were discovered, and having been disinterred, were enshrined,§ by St. Dunstan. According to Leland, they were again removed by St. Osmond, bishop of Salisbury.||

* Doulting is a small village, standing on high ground, two miles nearly east from Shepton Mallet. Near the church rises a spring called Aldhelm's Well, from that Saint to whom it was anciently dedicated. *Lel. Itin.* ii. 72.—A chapel of wood, afterwards converted into an oratory, by one of the monks of Glastonbury, was erected here to the memory of Aldhelm, *Johan. Glaston. Hist.* i. 92. King Ina gave this village to the religious of Glastonbury.—*Adam de Domesham* i. 97. *Collinson's Hist. of Somersetsh.* V. iii. p. 473.

† Leland, *Dugdale*.

‡ *Celebris illa pompa funeris fuit; dum pro miraculorum frequentia figentur semper lapideæ cruces ad septem miliaria. Manent omnes cruces, nec ulla earum vetustatis sensit injuriam: Vocanturque Biscopiani, id est lapides Episcopi, quarum una in claustro Monachorum in promptu est videre.* *G. Malmes. de Vit. Aldh.*

§ *Theſaurum tutum tot annis abditum in lucem propalaſti beati Aldhelmi corpus dico, quod ipſi de terra elevatum in ſcrinio locarunt.* *G. Malmes. de geſtis reg. Ang. lib. ii. c. 7.*

|| *Collectanea.* Vol. iii. p. 395.

Aldhelm

Aldhelm had a place given him in the Romish Calendar; and he certainly appears to have been as worthy of that honour, as any individual among the multitudes on whom it has been bestowed.— But his canonization has not preserved his writings from the censure of the literary inquisitors of Rome. For Dr. James informs us, that he stands corrected in the *Index Expurgatorius*.*

Aldhelm was equally celebrated for the excellence of his moral character, and for his literary attainments. He seems to have been the firm friend of religion and virtue. It is true the religion of that age, was burthened with useless ceremonies and austerities; but though these were practised by Aldhelm, he did not omit the more important duties of piety and morality. Monkish writers have given extraordinary accounts of his voluntary chastity. His persevering fortitude, and active benevolence were particularly displayed in his patriotic attempt to reform the manners of his countrymen. Some of his biographers not contented with bestowing on him those commendations which he really deserved, have attributed to him miraculous powers. Fuller, thus quaintly satirizes the authors of this report. “The monks (those Babylonish masons) have built such lying wonders on his memory, and have vomited out such lies to his dishonour, that the loudness thereof

* See a Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils and Fathers, by the Prelates, &c. of the Church of Rome. By Thomas James. 8vo. 1688.

has reached to heaven; affirming that this Adelme, by his prayer stretched out a beam of his church, (cut too short by the carpenter,) to the full proportion.* Another of his miracles is thus related. "And on a daye, as he sayde masse in the chyrche of saynt Johan Latrans. and whan the masse was don, there was no man that wolde take his chesyble† fro hym, at the ende of the masse.— And thenne he sawe the sonne-beme shyne thorough the glasse wyndowe; and henge his chesyble theron. Wherof all the people mervelled gretely at that myracle. And the same chesyble is yet at Malmesburye, the colour therof is purple."‡

In making an estimate of the learning of Aldhelm, regard must be had to the general character of the age in which he lived, When it is considered that during the seventh and several succeeding centuries there were few persons, except ecclesiastics, who could read even their own language, and that *they* seldom extended their studies beyond the service of the Romish church, the literary acquirements of Aldhelm will appear to have been very extraordinary. He was an eminent scholar, and a good writer; and from his works, it is apparent that he was acquainted with the most ce-

* Worthies of England. 8vo. 1684. p. 349.

† The Casula or Chesple was so called because it was a sort of case, covering the whole body of the Priest, at mass. Hence came as it thought, the modern Cassock. Collinson's Somersetsh. Vol. ii. p. 251.

‡ Golden Legend fol. lxxxvi. in the lyf of saynt Adelme. Com. by Mr. Folbrooke.

lebrated authors of Greece and Rome. William of Malmesbury has bestowed on him a splendid encomium, which appears to be equally just and elegant, if we except the sentence relative to his miracles. "He was, says he, a man possessed of sincere piety and extensive learning; and his virtue surpassed his celebrity. He was well skilled in the liberal arts, to each of which he had paid a particular attention. It would be unjust not to notice his treatise, 'In Praise of Virginity;' that characteristic emanation of his immortal genius; which in my opinion, cannot be surpassed for beauty and grandeur. Those indeed who do not sufficiently attend to the variety of manners and modes of expression, in different ages and nations, may be disgusted with some parts of it; but this will not happen to those who cultivate a proper regard for the writings of the ancients. I would willingly unfold the long catalogue of labours which he performed for the good of the church, *and the miracles which rendered his life illustrious*; if other circumstances did not demand my attention: and indeed the actions of Aldhelm, are so celebrated, that my praises cannot add to his renown. The numerous honours that were conferred on his memory proclaimed the sanctity of his manners. He has received the reward of praise, and also that glory which is the meed of virtue."*

* De Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 2.

Mr. Wharton observes that the Latin compositions of Aldhelm, whether in prose or verse, as novelties, were deemed extraordinary performances; and excited the attention and admiration of scholars in other countries. A learned contemporary who lived in a remote province of France, in an epistle to Aldhelm, has this remarkable expression. "*Vestræ latinitatis panegyricus rumor.*"

We shall conclude the testimonies to the merit of this learned prelate, collected from the ancients, with an encomium copied by Leland, from an antique chronicle. "St. Aldhelm a near relation of Ina, king of the West Saxons, was an excellent performer on the harp, a most elegant Latin and Saxon Poet, a very skilful singer, a doctor of singular merit, an eloquent speaker, and a wonderful master of sacred and profane learning."*

The literary character of Aldhelm, has been differently represented, by various modern writers. Those however are most favourable to him, who appear to have been most intimately acquainted with his writings. Dr. Mosheim says, "that he composed several poems *Concerning the Christian Life*, which exhibit but indifferent marks of genius and fancy."† However this tacit censure of

* "Sanctus Aldhelmus Inæ regis West Saxonum propinquus, citharædus erat optimus, cantor peritissimus, doctor egregius, sermone nitidus, scripturarum tam liberalium quam ecclesiasticarum eruditione mirandus." Lel. apud. Gen. Biog. Vol. i. Art. Aldhelm.

† Ecclesiastical History transl. by A. MacLaine, D. D. Vol. ii. p. 20.

the learned historian has been obviated by his translator; who observes "that this prelate certainly deserved a more honourable mention than is here made of him, by Dr. Mosheim. His poetical talents were by no means, the most distinguishing part of his character.* He was profoundly versed in the Greek, Latin, and Saxon languages. He appeared also with dignity, in the *paschal* controversy, that so long divided the Saxon and British churches."†

The memory of Aldhelm, was long held in high esteem by the inhabitants of Malmesbury. Before the reformation many memorials of him were preserved in the monastery; as his psalter, the robe in which he said mass, and a great bell in the abbey steeple, called St. Aldhelm's Bell.‡ The meadow which was denominated from him has been mentioned already.§ There is also a village situated about six or seven miles S. E. of Malmesbury, called Hilmarton; which derived its name probably from this saint; for in Domesday-book, the name is written Adhelmertone.||

* This sentence probably refers to the Latin poetry of Aldhelm. Of his Saxon poetry no proper judgment can be formed; though he certainly deserves credit for having introduced among his countrymen, a taste for this branch of literature.

† Id. Note [u] According to Tanner, Aldhelm was the author of a monastic rule. "The monks of this island were never under one rule before what is called the second reformation. We meet with the rules of St. Afaph, St. Aldhelm, &c. among the Britons and Saxons." *Notitia Monastica*. Pref. p. v.

‡ Gibson's edit. of Camden's *Britannia*. p. 196. vid. etiam. p. 46. huj. lib. § Vid. p. 162. || Camden.—Vid. Wyndham's *Wiltsh.* p. 354.

It is not unlikely that several statues of St. Aldhelm, existed in the abbey and elsewhere, in Malmesbury, previous to the Reformation. One supposed monument of this description was discovered about fifty years ago; of which we have the following account: "The great King Athelstan made Aldhelm his tutelar saint, and endowed the town and monastery with privileges on his account. It has been supposed that he raised a tomb to the memory of Aldhelm, and that the statue found in Mr. Griffin's house, in 1755, formed a part of its decorations. This piece of antiquity was probably removed from the abbey at the time of the Reformation, to preserve it from the rude hands of the king's visitors; and perhaps placed in the situation in which it was met with during the civil war, when the town was besieged by the parliament army."* This statue afterwards came into the possession of Edmund Wilkins, esq; and was placed in his garden, where it continued for several years; but at length the sculpture was entirely destroyed by the action of the atmosphere.

We have an account of two pictorial representations of Aldhelm, besides that already noticed.† There is a figure of this prelate in the fourth or north window, in the ante-chapel of Queen's College, Oxford; and there is also a portrait of him in the ingenious work of that indefatigable antiquary, Mr. Strutt.‡

* Mapson's M.S.

† Vid. p. 196. Note *

‡ See Strutt's Dresses Vol. I.

William of Malmesbury, in his account of the bishopric of Winchester, relates some particulars concerning Daniel, a prelate of the eighth century which may perhaps serve to illustrate the ecclesiastical customs of that period.

“ After the death of Hedda, bishop of Winchester, that diocese was divided into two parts; because it was too extensive to be governed by one person. One of these new bishoprics was given to Daniel, and the other to Aldhelm.— The former of these prelates outlived the latter, for a considerable length of time; and continued in possession of the see of Winchester forty-three years. Towards the close of his life, Daniel retired to the monastery of Malmesbury, that he might enjoy some repose from the duties of his station; and continued there till his death, practising the duties of monachism. It is generally asserted that he was buried at Malmesbury, though the inhabitants of Winchester pretend that he was interred in that city.”*

It does not clearly appear from this account that Daniel resided at Malmesbury as superior of the monastery; but since the researches of Mr. Wharton have evinced that he really possessed that situation, it may be inferred that it was usual for the ecclesiastics of those days, to hold church preferments of different degrees of dignity, *in commendam*: a practice which did not so com-

monly obtain in this country, in after ages.*—These circumstances render it probable that Aldhelm did not resign the abbey of Malmesbury till his death.—The well already mentioned,† is a lasting evidence of Daniel's connection with the town of Malmesbury.

ATHELARD.

Athelard or Adelard was the fifth abbot of Malmesbury. He is characterized by Dugdale, as a very learned, pious, and good man.‡

Where he received his education, and to what community he belonged before he was raised to the abbacy is uncertain. He probably became superior of the monastery of Malmesbury about the middle of the eighth century. At this period, Offa, king of Mercia, conceived the design of dismembering the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

* Monachism seems to have been extremely fashionable at this æra. We have repeated instances of kings who abandoned a throne for the cloyster. In a king of Wessex, in the eighth century; and Lotharius, Emperor of Germany, in the ninth, exhibit instances of this custom. The conduct of Egwin, bishop of Worcester, seems to have been similar to that of Daniel, mentioned in the text. He built the abbey of Evesham, and became the first abbot of it. He is said indeed to have resigned his bishopric; but as the abbey was built before 709, and Wilfrid who succeeded Egwin, did not become bishop till 717, it is obvious that the latter held both preferments at the same time. Vid. Dugdale's *Monast. Anglic. abr.* p. 23, 24.

In France, in the reign of Henry IV. we find that abbies were possessed by the nobility and gentry, as well as the clergy; and even by the Protestants; though these last were afterwards obliged by the Pope to dispose of their benefices. Vid. *Memoirs of Sully*, tr. Vol. V. Book 29.

† Vid. p. 192.

‡ *Monast. Ang. abr.* p. 5.

For this purpose he applied to Pope Adrian I. and at length obtained a bull for erecting an archbishopric at Litchfield; to which all the bishops in Mercia and East Anglia were appointed suffragans. This tyrannical monarch also plundered many of the churches in his dominions, and among the rest that of Malmesbury.*

In the year 780, Athelard was translated to the bishopric of Winchester; and from thence, in 790 or 791, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. As he was a man of an industrious and persevering disposition, and was possessed of powerful friends, he made application to Egfrid, who had succeeded his father Offa, in the kingdom of Mercia, in order to induce that prince to restore the metropolitan see to its original dignity. Death prevented Egfrid from complying with his request: but Kenulph who succeeded him, wrote to Leo III. who then filled the papal chair, to desire that he would reverse the decree of his predecessor.† Athelard himself went to Rome with this epistle; and after a time returned, and brought with him an answer from the Pope, which contained directions for restoring the sees of Canterbury and Litchfield to their former state. In this letter, Leo, gives a most exalted character to the archbishop. He styles him "A most noble and accomplished person, of acknowledged prudence, unex-

* G. Malmes. de Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. i. ch. 4.

† G. Malmes. de Gest. Pont. Ang. lib. i.

ceptionable manners, and deserving of honour both from God and man.*

Athelard was favoured with the friendship and correspondence of the celebrated Alcuin, who flourished in the court of Charlemaine. William of Malmesbury has preserved some fragments of his letters to our prelate, which afford strong testimonies of his merit.

One of these epistles contains a congratulatory address to Athelard, on the fortunate termination of his embassy to Rome. The benevolent purpose of another of them was to induce the primate to permit Adulph who had been made archbishop of Litchfield, to retain the pall during his life.†— This request was complied with.

Athelard was not inferior to the most learned doctors of that age; indeed in some respects he was superior to any of them: for not to mention the admirable prudence with which he conducted the affairs of the see of Canterbury, and recovered the privileges which his predecessor had lost, he was highly worthy of praise on many other accounts.‡

Two general councils were held during the time that Athelard presided over the English Church. The first of them was at Cloveshoo or Cliff, in Kent, in the year 800. It was convened for the

* Est clarissimus atque peritissimus, & illum scitis prudentem, bonis ornatum moribus, Deo & hominibus dignum. The epistle of Kenulph, and also that of Leo, are to be found in G. Malmes. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 4.

† De Gest. Pent. Ang. lib. i.

‡ Idem.

recovery of certain church lands usurped by Offa king of Mercia.* Three years after another council was held at the same place, for the purpose of carrying into execution the decree of Pope Leo, relative to the see of Litchfield.†

Soon after this, in the year 803, Athelard died and was probably buried at Malmesbury.

It does not appear that this prelate left any writings behind him: probably the ecclesiastical concerns in which he was so deeply involved deprived him of leisure for any literary undertaking at least during the latter part of his life.

JOHANNES SCOTUS.

The subject of this article is involved in considerable obscurity, in consequence of the carelessness of some of the monkish writers, who appear to have confounded together two different persons. According to these authors, Scotus Ærigena, a celebrated divine and philosopher, (who lived in the court of Charles the Bald King

* The property which this prince had taken from the abbot and monks of Malmesbury (see p. 207) was restored by his son Egfrid, during his short reign, in 796.—“Egfridus sedulo paternæ immanitatis vestigia declinans, privilegia omnium Ecclesiarum, quæ seculo suo genitor attenuaverat, prona devotione revocavit. Prædium quoque quod pater Malmesburie abstulerat, reddidit in manu Cuthberti tunc illius loci Abbatis, hortatu præfati Athelardi Archiepiscopi Cantuariæ, strenui sanè & Deo digni viri quem Athelardum Abbatem fuisse ibi ante Cuthbertum constans opinio asseverat, hoc argumenti assumens, quod defunctum se eo loci tumulari fecerit.” G. Malmes. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. i. cap. 4.

† Spelman. Concilia—V. i. p. 318, and 324. sp. Rapin Hist. of Eng. V. i. p. 78.

of France,) was murdered by his scholars, at Malmesbury. But we have good authority for asserting that this learned ecclesiastic died abroad, several years before the period at which he is said to have been assassinated; and that there was another Scotus, a man of learning, invited into England by Alfred the Great, who fell a victim to the fury of his pupils.

Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland, is the earliest writer we have been able to consult, who mentions Scotus. "King Alfred (says he) was so fond of sacred literature, that he always carried a copy of David's Psalter, or some other religious work in his bosom. He also invited learned men out of foreign countries, and entertained them in his palace, that he might enjoy the benefit of their conversation, and afterwards promoted them to bishoprics and other dignities. On this account he induced Grimbald, a Frenchman, who was well skilled in music, and a very learned divine to settle in England; and made him abbot of a monastery that he had newly built at Winchester. *He also allured from Old Saxony, Johannes surnamed Scotus, a philosopher possessing the most poignant abilities; and constituted him superior of the abbey of Æthelingay.* Both these men were very learned doctors, of the rank of priests, and by profession holy monks."* Thus far Ingulphus, who has omitted the date

* Ing. Historia apud Script. post Bedam.

of these transactions: though he mentions them after the great defeat of the Danes by Alfred; and they certainly took place several years subsequent to that event. William of Malmesbury gives a similar, but more brief account of the king's bounty to these ecclesiastics: but it is observable that he has omitted the cognomen of the abbot of Æthelingay, and calls him simply *Johannes*. After mentioning some other ecclesiastical preferments, which probably happened at that time, this historian proceeds to relate the popular story concerning the murder of Scotus, at Malmesbury. He represents the sufferer as the friend of Charles the Bald, and the author of writings which were composed by Ærigena, though he does not call him by that name. What follows relative to the death and epitaph of Scotus, we shall insert. "Being induced by the munificence of Alfred to visit England, Scotus was, at our monastery, (as it is reported) stabbed by his scholars, with the iron styles which they used in writing; and was afterwards reckoned a martyr. I shall not attempt to conceal the circumstances of this outrage; since his sepulchre on the left side of the altar; and the verses of his epitaph, (which indeed are rough and want the polish of modern refinement, but are not to be despised considering the age in which they were written,) remain as monuments of his celebrity.

*Clauditur hoc tumulo sanctus Sophista Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat jam vivens dogmate miro,*

Martyrio

Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum,
Quo, meruit, sancti regnant per secula cuncti."*

Roger de Hoveden, who wrote his History about fifty years after William of Malmesbury, gives a more particular account of Ærigena, called by him Johannes Scottus. He represents him as having been assassinated at Malmesbury, in the year 883; and concludes his relation with an account of a miraculous light, which hovered over the grave of the murdered ecclesiastic, and by means whereof, the monks were induced to pay higher honours to his memory than they had before intended. Hoveden then informs us, that in 887, king Alfred appointed John, a Saxon monk, abbot of Æthelingay.†

From a review of these accounts it is very apparent that Scotus who was made abbot of Æthelingay by Alfred was a different person from Ærigena; and from the silence of Ingulphus, it may be fairly inferred that this last was not among the number of the learned men who were invited into England by the king. If the evidence of William of Malmesbury relative to the account of the death of Ærigena was direct and positive, it would be intitled to a great deal of credit; but it is worthy of observation, that this cautious historian relates the story merely as a popular report, and does not offer to vouch for its accu-

* G. M. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. 4.

† Hoved. Annalium pars prior—apud Script. post Bedam.

racy. The epitaph which we have quoted from this writer is certainly more applicable to the abbot of Æthelingay, than to Ærigena, who was one of the most learned men of the age in which he lived.

We may reasonably conclude from the foregoing accounts, that it was the abbot of Æthelingay, and not Ærigena, who resided at Malmesbury, and was there murdered. The abbey which King Alfred had founded at the place of his retreat was, as Dugdale informs us, far from being a desirable situation. "Atheling is not an island in the sea, but so encompassed with marshes and waters, that there is no coming at it but by a boat. The monks there were few and poor.*" Since therefore this monastery was from local circumstances, so far from being a convenient place of residence, it is highly probable that Scotus took up his abode at the abbey of Malmesbury; where learning had flourished ever since the time of St. Aldhelm.

The tragical catastrophe already mentioned, took place soon after. If the date given by Hoveden be correct, the death of Scotus, must have happened in 887, or 888. No doubt King Alfred made enquiry into the circumstances of this daring violation of the laws, and severely punished the assassins. But among the Anglo-Saxons, murder was not attoned for by the death of the murderer

* *Monast. Ang. abr.* p. 30. from *G. Malmes, de Gest. Pont. Ang. lib. ii.*

but by a fine.* Now it appears that the king erected a noble monument to the memory of Scotus, and also procured for him the honour of canonization. This probably was done at the expence of the religious belonging to the monastery and others who were concerned in the assassination; and may be considered as the were-gild or fine levied upon them on account of that crime. The monks having a public monument of this disgraceful transaction conspicuously placed in the abbey church, must of course have been desirous to lessen the odium of it, as much as possible. Little or nothing could be done for this purpose immediately after the event. But when a convenient space of time had elapsed, it is probable that the pride of the monks might induce them to alter the name of the Martyr; or at least to represent Ærigena as the person who came to this untimely end. This will appear by no means

* "Every rank in society had its price (or were-gild) in case of murder; even the assassination of a king was set at a certain sum. The proportions ran thus: The sovereign's were-gild was rated at 30,000 thrimlas;* the prince's 15,000; that of a bishop or ealdorman 8,000; a sheriff's 4,000; a thane or priest's 2,000; a ceorls 266. Some trifling difference appears in the were-gilds of Kent, Mercia, &c. *Wilkins.*

There were fines appointed with great preciseness for wounds without regard to the rank of the injured. *Laws of Alfred.* In different countries the fines for wounds were different in proportion to the wealth of the nation; and (as *Dr. Henry humorously* remarks) the nose of a Spaniard might be safe in England, being valued at thirteen marks, while that of an Englishman ran a much greater risk in Spain, having only a twelve shilling fine imposed on its loss." *Andrews' H. of G. B. Vol. i. p. 84. Note [11.]*

* The thrimla was a coin of an unsettled value, varying from three fifths to three fourths of a shilling. *Clarke on Coins.*

unlikely,

unlikely, when we consider that Ærigena was persecuted during his life time, for opposing the doctrine of transubstantiation; and that his writings were burnt by order of the Pope, at Rome, about the middle of the eleventh century. At that period perhaps the murder of so dangerous an heretic would have been deemed meritorious; and from thence probably we may safely date the origin of the misrepresentation.*

ÆLFRIC.

Ælfric, Alfred, or Eluric, was a Benedictine monk, celebrated for his piety and learning, who was superior of the abbey of Malmesbury, in the latter part of the tenth century. He was contemporary with Ælfric the Grammarian, archbishop of Canterbury; and lived about fifty years before Ælfric Bata, Archbishop of York; with both of whom he has been confounded.

But few particulars can be collected relating to the life of Ælfric. Of his birth, extraction, and

* Before we conclude this article it may not be amiss to observe that several modern writers appear to have followed the erroneous account of Hoveden, relative to Ærigena. Among others, we have the respectable names of Gale, (see his edit. of *Scotus de Divisione Naturæ*;) Rapin, (*Hist. of Eng.* Vol. i. p. 115;) Hearne, (*Antiquit.*) and MacLaine, (*Tr. of Mosheim's Ecc. Hist.* V. ii. p. 113, N. 13;) and the ingenious Dr. F. Warner has committed a still greater error in saying that J. Duns Scotus was entertained by Charles the Bald, invited to England by Alfred the Great, made professor in the monastery of Malmesbury, and murdered there by his pupils. See his *Ecclesiastical Hist. of England.* Vol. i. p. 178. It must not be omitted that the erroneous accounts of Ærigena, which have been so often repeated, are corrected in that great national work the *Biographia Britannica* (see Vol. v. p. 597—600.

education,

education, we have not been able to obtain any information. His appointment to the abbacy by King Edgar, after the secular priests were ejected from the monastery, has been already noticed.* It is not improbable that he was superior of this abbey before the monks were removed by King Edwy, and consequently that he was only restored by his successor. In the charter of Edgar, Ælfric is characterized as a person well skilled in ecclesiastical affairs.† From the accounts we have of his actions and writings this encomium appears to be by no means undeserved. It is probable that in the time of this abbot, the oldest part of the present remains of the abbey church was erected; and he is supposed to have superintended the undertaking, and to have had a considerable share in the embellishment of the building.‡ We are also informed that he caused instrumental music to be made use of in the church-service; but it is uncertain whether he himself practised that art.§

* See p. 41.

† Vir in omnibus ecclesiasticis experientissimus officiis. *Ingulphi Historia.*

‡ Hearne's *Antiquit.*

§ The celebrated St. Dunstan, who was contemporary with Ælfric, was remarkably well skilled in music, and likewise in painting and sculpture. He presented a fine organ to the monastery of Glastonbury, in the reign of Edgar. Andrew's *Hist. of Gr. B.* V. i. p. 88. This information seems to clash with the opinions advanced by some learned writers, that musical instruments, and particularly organs, were not used in churches until the latter end of the 13th cent. See Bingham's *Antiq. of the Christian Church*, V. i. p. 314. fol. edit. and Peirce's *Vind. of the Dissenters*, p. 395. Eng. edit.

Ælfric continued abbot of Malmesbury, about four years after his appointment to that office by Edgar; and in 977, or 978, succeeded bishop Sidemann, in the see of Crediton. He continued in possession of this bishopric several years, and died towards the close of the tenth century.*

This learned ecclesiastic wrote a treatise entitled "*De rerum natura*;" i. e. "Of the nature of things." He also compiled "The History of Malmesbury Abbey," according to Collier: though Pits and others, assure us it was that of Glastonbury; but they are probably mistaken. "The Life of St. Aldhelm" was another of Ælfric's productions.† He is said likewise to have translated the *Pentateuch*, *Judges*, and *Job*, into the Anglo-Saxon language; which translation was published at Oxford in the year 1699.‡

Besides these writings, there is a collection of Homilies translated from the Latin into the Saxon language, which is still extant. This version has been generally attributed to Ælfric archbishop of

* Historians differ widely as to the date of Ælfric's translation to the see of Crediton, and the time of his death. Sir H. Savile, and Mr. Wharton, agree with our text, as to the period of his becoming bishop; but the former places his death in 994, whilst according to the latter, he died Jan. 9th, 983, at Crediton, and was there buried. Vid. Tab. Chron. ad fin. Script. poss. Bedam; & Anglia Sacra Vol. i. p. 265.—Godwin says that he was promoted to his bishopric in 982, and died in 999. De Præsul. Ang. p. 454. And Dugdale asserts that he was not made bishop till 990. Monast. Ang. abr. p. 33. Non nostrum tantas componere lites.

† Fabricii Biblioth. Med. Ævi. V. i. p. 181.

‡ Sup. Addend. and Cor. to Calmet's Dict. art. Bible. fr. Le Long and Lewis.

Canterbury, though Mr. Wharton ascribed it to Ælfric Bata,* but there are reasons for believing that it was not done by either of these prelates, and that it was the work of Ælfric, Bishop of Crediton. For it appears from a Latin address to Wulstan, Archbishop of York, prefixed to the translation, that it was executed at his request. Now this prelate died in 955, and as Ælfric archbishop of Canterbury survived that period fifty years, it is probable that he must have been too young to have performed the task in question.—Dr. James also informs us, that a Saxon M. S. containing these homilies was found at Exeter, in the library belonging to the dean and chapter, by whom it was presented to the Bodleian Library.† These circumstances certainly do not amount to a positive proof of the opinion just advanced; and perhaps at this distance of time it may be impossible to determine absolutely who was the translator, but it must be admitted that the claim of the Bishop of Crediton to that title is not entirely without foundation.

OLIVER OF MALMESBURY,

Oliver, Elmer, or Egelmer was a monk of Malmesbury, who is said to have been born within the precincts of the monastery. He flourished in the eleventh century. Mathematics and astro-

* Ang. Sacr. Vol. i. p. 125.

† Treatise on the Corruption of Scripture, &c. p. 196, 197.

logy were the sciences which principally engaged his attention. He also appears to have studied mechanics. In the works of William of Malmesbury, we have the following account of this learned Benedictine. Not long after the death of Henry I. of France, (in 1060,) a comet or blazing star made its appearance; which was supposed to portend some national revolution. Elmer, a monk of our monastery, on seeing this glittering meteor, broke out into the following exclamation. 'Art thou arrived, O! messenger of evil, omen of that destruction which shall cause many mothers to pour forth lamentations.'*

Elmer, was not deficient in learning for the age in which he lived; but he undertook one enterprize, when he was arrived at years of maturity which savoured strongly of juvenile audacity.—For, having affixed wings to his hands and feet, he ascended a lofty tower, from whence he took his flight, and was borne upon the air for the space of a furlong; but owing to the violence of the wind, or his own fear, he then fell to the ground, and broke both his legs.†

From this imperfect account it is impossible to determine what degree of merit belonged to the invention of this monkish aëronaut. It may however, be concluded that his machinery was con-

* In those ages when superstition had usurped the seat of reason, the appearance of comets was generally supposed to foretell national calamities. Vid. Hen. Hunt. Hist. lib. v.

† De Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. ii. cap. 13.

structed

structed on the same principles with the parachute. Oliver was probably the first Englishman who travelled through the aërial regions. He is said to have written on Astrology and also on Geometry, and other branches of mathematical science; but none of his works are now in existence.

In the twelfth century, Godfrey of Malmesbury, a Benedictine monk, wrote an account of the affairs of this country, from the arrival of the Saxons in England, to the twenty-ninth year of Henry I. under the title of "Annals." He gives an account of many transactions which happened in the northern parts of the kingdom.—Roger de Hoveden, appears to have been indebted to this author, as the same accounts are to be found in the writings of both; though the circumstance may have arisen from both these historians having had before them the same original records.*

ROGER LE POER.

Among those who were concerned in the transactions which took place in the former part of the turbulent reign of King Stephen, Roger le Poer, Bishop of Sarum, was one of the most conspicuous.

This ambitious priest had gained the favour of Henry Beauclerc, long before his attaining the

crown of England, by hurrying over a mass with such dispatch (when a poor curate at Caen, in Normandy) that the prince swore aloud 'that he had now found a chaplain fit for a soldier,' and instantly attached him to his person as domestic priest.*

Roger was made Bishop of Sarum, in 1107. He was also Lord Chief Justice, Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellor; and several times governed the kingdom in the absence of King Henry I. Notwithstanding the numerous favours he had received from that monarch, this perfidious prelate assisted Stephen against Mathilda, the daughter of his benefactor. He met with a just reward for his ingratitude. Stephen wishing to lessen the power of the ecclesiastics, seized on several fortified castles which belonged to some of the bishops. Roger opposed this fancied encroachment on the rights of the church, but was at length obliged to deliver all his fortresses into the hands of the king, and with them the vast mass of wealth which he possessed; which is said to have amounted to 40,000 marks in money, besides plate and jewels. This avaricious prelate was so much afflicted at the loss of his property, that he survived the event but a short time.†

In 1118, Roger seized the abbey of Malmesbury, and kept possession of it for more than twenty

* Andrews' Hist. of G. B. Vol. i. p. 144.

† G. Malmes. H. Nov. lib. ii.—Dugdale's Mon. Ang. abr. p. 340.

years. He also appropriated to himself the abbey of Abingdon.

Peter Baldwin who lived about the year 1130, was a Benedictine monk, and a member of the fraternity at Malmesbury. He was a very respectable poet in his time, and is said to have written the lives of the most eminent monks of this house, in verse; though none of his works are now extant.* He is said also to have cultivated other branches of literature, besides poetry.

WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

The celebrated historian, William of Malmesbury was probably born in or near this town; but however that might be, he was certainly bred up here. His paternal name was Somerset, which he relinquished, and took that by which he is more commonly known. By his industry in his youth, he became well instructed in all kinds of literature. Being made librarian to the monastery, and finding in the library many

* Hearne's *Antiq.*—William of Malmesbury, in his Treatise "*De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*" lib. ii. mentions a monk named Peter, whom he styles his companion, (*fodalis ejus*;) and represents as the writer of elegant Latin poetry. It seems highly probable that this Poet was no other than Peter Baldwin; for the Historian has introduced an extract from the works of Peter, by way of specimen of his abilities. It is an eulogium on a contemporary ecclesiastic, named Faricius, abbot of Abingdon, who was a native of Arezzo in Tuscany, a physician by profession, and had belonged to the monastery of Malmesbury. This poetical encomium, which is written in Leonine Verse, celebrates the virtues and medical skill of the abbot.

old manuscripts* and monuments of antiquity, relating to the transactions of the nation, in preceding ages, he thought he could not do better service to the learned in future ages, than to draw up such an abridgment of them as would comprehend the most material facts in the history of his native country. This task he executed, in a manner highly creditable to himself, and to the community to which he belonged.

The works of William are “*De Gestis Regum Anglorum, Libri V.*” containing the history of the affairs of this country, from the arrival of the Saxons to the death of Henry I.—“*Historiæ Novellæ, Libri II.*” which carried on the history to the year 1143. In these two works are scattered various notices relative to Malmesbury monastery; and still more copious accounts of Glastonbury.—William wrote another work entitled, “*De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, Libri IV.*”—This contains an account of the different bishoprics in England with lists of the bishops.

The two former of these works are dedicated

* Hume has observed that William of Malmesbury quotes Livy's description of Cæsar's passage over the Rhine; which was contained in a part of the works of that Historian which is now lost. *And. v. i. p. 445.* The writings of William have been searched in vain for this quotation. But in *Hist. Novellæ, lib. ii.* there a comparison between Julius Cæsar and Robert Earl of Gloucester, partly drawn from Livy's account of the circumstances in which Cæsar was situated previous to his passage over the Rubicon; which makes a part of the lost Decades. It is not improbable that William had before him the whole works of Livy, which might have belonged to the Library of this monastery.

by the historian, to his patron, the gallant Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son of Henry I.

These three treatises were published by Sir H. Savile, with some other works on English history, under the following title. “*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui, ex vetustissimis Codicibus Manuscriptis nunc primum in Lucem Editi.*”*

William also wrote a book entitled “*De Vitâ Aldhelmi;*” which was published in Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*; and likewise among Gale’s *Quindecim Scriptores*. This work is written in a bombast stile, and is by no means equal to his other productions. Nothing of importance is known concerning the life and actions of William.— He appears to have spent his days in the humble stations of Librarian and Precentor to the monastery of Malmesbury; where he died sometime between the years 1143 and 1148.

No writer of English history, has more frequently received the tribute of deserved praise, than this modest friar; whose opinion with regard to his own writings deserves to be quoted. “I am not anxious about the praise or censure of my contemporaries. But I hope that when partiality and malevolence are no more, I shall receive from

* Pits says, that W. Malmesb. was epitomized by W. Horman, sometime master of Eton school; but whether all his works, or some part of them only were thus contracted he does not tell us. Possibly he only transcribed what Simeon Dunelm. had before done to his hand. Nicholson’s Engl. Hist. Libr. V. i. p. 154.

posterity the character of an industrious though not an eloquent historian.”*

A late author after observing that the history of William does credit to the age in which he lived, adds that it is a book which might almost have been owned by a Livy; so pure is his stile.† And archbishop Usher calls him *the chief of our historians*.

Learning flourished in the monastery of Malmesbury after the twelfth century; though the names of those literary characters who existed here since that period are buried in oblivion.—There were however two anonymous monks of Malmesbury, who must not be passed by unnoticed.

The author of a work entitled “Eulogium Historiarum”‡ was a member of this convent.—This treatise contains many circumstances relative to the foundation of the abbey, the property with which it was endowed, and the lives of some of the abbots.§ The time when he lived is not exactly known.

Another monk of Malmesbury wrote “The Life

* Prolog. ad Lib. de Gest. Reg. Ang.

† Andrews’ Hist. of Gr. Br. V. i. p. 253.

‡ Vid. p. 22. huj. lib.

§ Leland calls the Eul. Hist. the Malmesbury Chronicle; and gives the same title to another historical work, which was probably written by the same author. Both these chronicles are contained in one volume, in Bibl. Cotton. Galba, E. vii.—and excerpts from them are to be found in Leland’s Collecciona. V. i, p. 302. &c. V. li. p. 395, &c.

of King Richard II." an edition of which has been published by Mr. Thomas Hearne.

WILLIAM STUMPE.

Among those remarkable persons who have been connected with Malmesbury, William Stumpe, an eminent clothier here, in the sixteenth century, deserves some notice. He carried on a very great trade in this town, as the following anecdote will evince. It also indicates a peculiarity in the manners of that period; since it appears that manufacturers must have been accustomed to supply with provisions their labourers, as well as their domestics. We are told that Henry VIII. after he had been hunting in Bradon Forest, (which lies about four miles north-west of Malmesbury,) came, with all his retinue of courtiers and servants, to dine with Mr. Stumpe. Though this visit was quite unexpected, yet it seems our manufacturer was not at all disconcerted. He gave his royal and noble guests an hospitable reception; and ordering his train of workmen to abstain from eating till night, he had the provision which had been prepared for them, served up before his majesty, and his followers. This supplied them with a plentiful though not a dainty meal; and they went away pleased with their entertainment.*

Mr. Stumpe was a great benefactor to the inhabitants of Malmesbury; for having purchased

* Fuller's Worthies of Eng. 1684. p. 859.

the abbey of the king, after the dissolution of monasteries, he permitted it to be used as a parish church.

The time of his death is uncertain. His son Sir James Stumpe, knight, was married to the daughter of Sir Edward Baynton; and served the office of High Sheriff for the county of Wilts, in the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth.*

THOMAS HOBBS.

In the constellation of luminaries that enlightened the literary horizon of Britain, during the seventeenth century, Thomas Hobbes shines with distinguished lustre. The writings of this justly celebrated philosopher, contain the outlines of that moral and metaphysical system, the propagation of which has gained immortal honour for Hartley, Hume, and Priestley. Like all other innovators in science, this great man experienced opposition, and even obloquy from his contemporaries; but impartial posterity will admit, that such merit as he possessed, would have covered errors greater than he committed, and will allot him a distinguished place among those benefactors of mankind whose efforts have contributed to burst asunder the chains which ignorance and superstition had forged for the human mind.

* Leland's Itin.—Universal Mag. Vol. xxxi. p. 118.—Fuller and Hearne call the clothier of Malmesbury, Thomas Stumpe; and some writers have represented Thomas and William Stumpe as two different persons, both benefactors to the people of Malmesbury; but this appears to be a mistake.

Hobbes was born April 5, 1588, in the parish of Westport,* within the borough of Malmesbury; of which parish his father was minister. At the time of his birth, the Spanish Armada was upon the coast of England; and his mother is said to have been so highly terrified at the alarm which it occasioned, that she was prematurely delivered. He was, however, of a strong and healthy constitution; and displayed, even in his earliest years very considerable abilities for learning. Though the father of Hobbes, had no taste for literature, and probably but little acquaintance with it, yet he did not neglect the education of his son. In the eighth year of his age, our author was put under the tuition of Mr. Robert Latimer, then master of the Grammar School at Malmesbury;† who having a high opinion of his capacity, treated him with great kindness; and did all he could to assist him in his studies. In these he made so rapid a progress, that before he went to the university he translated the *Medea* of Euripides out of Greek into Latin verse.

In 1603, he became a student of Magdalen-Hall, Oxford. While at college he was chiefly supported by an allowance from his uncle, Francis Hobbes, who was alderman of Malmesbury; and

* The house in which Hobbes was born, was standing till within these few years. It was situated near the parish church.

† At this school, John Aubrey, the antiquarian received the first rudiments of his education. He was born at Easton Piers, in Wiltshire, in 1625 or 1626, and died at the house of Lady Long, of Draycot, in 1700,

who at his death, left him a small annuity, that he might be enabled to pursue his studies. In 1607, he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts; and the following year, on the recommendation of the Principal of Magdalen-Hall, he was taken into the family of Lord Hardwicke, afterwards Earl of Devonshire, as tutor to his son.

In 1610, Hobbes made the tour of France and Italy, with his pupil. After his return, he published a translation of the History of *Thucydides*. He travelled again with the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, in 1631: but was recalled by the Countess Dowager of Devonshire, to be tutor to the young earl, with whom he went abroad, and re-returned in 1637. About 1641, perceiving the probability of a civil war, he retired to Paris; and there wrote his books entitled *De Cive*; and *The Leviathan*; which startled the divines; and drew a great many pens against him. It was here that he taught mathematics to King Charles II. then an exile. At the Restoration he returned into England; and from that period till his death, he resided chiefly with his patron, the Earl of Devonshire.

He was in favour with the king, who settled a pension on him of 100*l.* per annum, out of his privy purse. Hobbes was likewise visited by Cosmo de Medicis, then Prince, and afterwards Duke of Tuscany; and by other illustrious foreigners. But his book called the '*Leviathan*,' was condemned by the Parliament, in a bill against atheism and

profaneness, October, 1666; and the Convocation also condemned both that, and his book 'De Cive,' July 21, 1683: as pernicious and damnable, and thereupon caused them to be burnt.

He died at Hardwicke, in Derbyshire, a seat of the Earl of Devonshire, December 4th, 1679; and was buried in the church of Hault-Hucknall, where a monument was erected to his memory.

His writings are numerous, and relate to a variety of subjects. A volume entitled "The Moral and Political Works of Thomas Hobbes," was printed in London, folio, 1750. It contained "Human Nature, or the fundamental Elements of Policy;—" "De Corpore Politico; or the Elements of Law, moral and politic;" "The Leviathan: or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil;" "Behemoth: or the History of the Causes of the civil Wars of England;" besides some smaller pieces. He also published "An English Version of the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer;" and "Decameron Physiologicum: or Ten Dialogues on Natural Philosophy;" to which must be added several mathematical treatises, that did him no credit; as they contain many singular and absurd positions.

Mr. Hobbes was a man of considerable learning and great abilities. He had a very high opinion of himself and his writings, which he took no pains to conceal; nor did he appear to consider it as any weakness. His genius was lively and penetrating, and he was studious and indefatigable in

in his enquiries, but his reading was not very extensive. Homer, Virgil, Thucydides, and Euclid, were the authors with whom he was most delighted.*

Of his private character, Lord Clarendon has left the following testimonial. "Mr. Hobbes is one of the most ancient acquaintance I have in the world, and of whom I have always had a great esteem, as a man who besides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath always been looked upon as a man of probity, and of a life free from scandal."† Few authors have encountered more opposition than the Philosopher of Malmesbury. A vague charge of atheism has been brought against him by his adversaries; but since the philosophical principles he professed have been examined and admitted by some of the ablest defenders of religion, more justice has been done to his character. His writings contain repeated testimonies in favour of christianity;‡ and he practised the duties of religion. It is particularly deserving of notice, that he received the sacrament several times, with apparent devotion, according to the account of the Earl of Devonshire's chaplain.§ His political principles were certainly reprehensible, as they were calculated to promote tyranny and oppression.—He was upon the whole

* British Biography. Vol. v. p. 16, 17.

† Survey of the Leviathan, p. 3.

‡ See the Leviathan, p. 203, 204. and De Cive. cap. 3. S. 33.

§ Noorthouck's Hist. and Class. Dict. Art. Hobbes.

a man of virtue; and was undoubtedly a bold and original thinker. Timidity however was a prominent trait in his character. He could never reconcile himself to the thoughts of death. The freedom of his opinions and sentiments formed a striking contrast with this part of his conduct.

Thomas Lord Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton and Malmesbury, was for many years high steward of the borough of Malmesbury.—His abilities as a statesman were very considerable. He enjoyed the confidence of three successive sovereigns, William III. Anne, and George I. and held considerable employments under each of them.—Lord Wharton was created Viscount Winchenden, in Buckinghamshire, and Earl of Wharton, in 1706, by Queen Anne. He was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, November 25, 1708. And in 1714, he was advanced to the title of Marquis of Wharton and *Malmesbury*, by George I. The same year he was made Lord Privy-Seal. He did not long enjoy these honours, dying in 1715.* The Marquis of Wharton was a man of genius and learning, and an encourager of learned men. Sir Richard Steele prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Spectator*, a dedication in which he acknowledges his obligations to him for favours which he had received, and bestows

* Bolton's *Extinct Peerage*. p. 302.—*Tablet of Memory*, 4th edit. p. 211.
 Kimber's *Hist. of Eng.* p. 414.

on him great and probably deserved encomiums. His lordship was an actor in the Revolution, in 1688; and his general conduct shewed that he was the friend of liberty; therefore his patronage does honour to the corporation of Malmesbury.

MARY CHANDLER.

Mary Chandler was a lady who distinguished herself by some ingenious poetical compositions. She was born at Malmesbury, in 1687. Her father, Henry Chandler,* was a dissenting minister, who published a small religious tract, in 1705; from the title of which it appears that he then resided at Bath. As he was far from being wealthy he thought it necessary for his daughter to learn some business. She accordingly became a milliner, and kept a shop at Bath. She was however carefully instructed in the principles of religion and virtue, by her father; and her conduct during the whole of her life was very exemplary.

From her childhood she was observed to have a turn for poetry, often entertaining her companions with riddles in verse; and was extremely fond at that time of life of Herbert's Poems. In her riper years, she applied herself to the study of the best modern poets, and of the ancient poets likewise, as far as translations could assist her.

* Dr. Samuel Chandler, a learned divine, was the son of this gentleman. Besides many other literary productions, Dr. S. C. was the author of "A Critical History of the Life of David" Two Volumes 8vo. He died May 8, 1766, aged 73 years.

It is said that she preferred Horace to both Homer and Virgil: because he did not deal so much in fable as they, but treated of subjects which lay within the sphere of nature, and had a relation to common life.

Though deformed in her person, such was the goodness of her character, that a worthy country gentleman of considerable fortune, took a journey of one hundred miles to Bath to pay her his addresses, which she declined; as she had determined to live single. She published several poems, and one upon the Bath, which was well received by the public, and passed through several editions. It met with the approbation of Mr. Pope, who paid her a personal visit.* She died after nearly two years illness, September 11, 1745.†

Mrs. Chandler appears to have been a woman of respectable abilities, and of a cultivated understanding. Her poems which are written in an unaffected and natural style, breathe a spirit of true piety and philosophy.

* She was also honoured with the friendship of the celebrated Mrs Rowe.

† Biogr. Brit. V. iii. p. 436.

ADDITIONAL FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON
SOME PARTS OF THIS WORK.

SECT. I. p. 24. The following occurrence which took place at Malmesbury, is interesting as it relates to the brave Edmund Ironside, the last of our kings of the first Saxon dynasty. Ethelred II. at the instigation of his treacherous counsellor Edric Streon, having murdered at Oxford, Morcar and Sigefrid, (two earls, who though of Danish extraction, had fought for England,) he seized Alghitha the wife of the latter, who was a very beautiful woman, and confined her as a prisoner in a convent at Malmesbury. Edmund Ironside, visiting this place shortly after, was so struck with the personal accomplishments of the noble widow, that he determined to deliver her from imprisonment and to marry her; which design he immediately executed, without waiting for the consent of his father. *G. Malmes. de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. II. cap. 10.—R. de Hoved. Annal. pars prior.*

p. 26. The town and castle of Malmesbury seems to have fallen into the hands of the partisans of the Empress Maud, and to have had a garrison placed in it soon after she first invaded England; for Gervase of Tilbury informs us that
King

King Stephen besieged Malmesbury in 1140; but we know not whether it was surrendered.—As William the Historian favours the cause of the empress, in his account of the transactions of his own times, we may infer that the monks of this convent were in general her friends. This opinion receives support from the account already given of the conduct of the abbot Peter. (*Vid. p. 176. huj. lib.*) Indeed it must be acknowledged to be extremely probable that the townspeople as well as the religious of Malmesbury, were strongly attached to the empress, as a descendant of their beloved Saxon monarchs, to whom they were indebted for so many favours. This attachment was rewarded by Henry II. who gave to the monastery six pounds ten shillings of hundred silver. *Regist. Abbat. Malmes. in Bibl. Cott.*

SECT. II. p. 40. After the death of King Athelstan, the convent of Malmesbury flourished exceedingly, till Edwy ascended the throne; who expelled the monks from all the monasteries they then possessed in England, and placed secular priests in their room. The abbey of Malmesbury was one of the benefices of which the monks were dispossessed on this occasion. William of Malmesbury thus indignantly notices this transaction. “*Nam et Malmesburiense cœnobium plusquam ducentis septuaginta annis a monachis inhabitum, clericorum stabulum fecit.*” *De Gest. Reg. Ang. l. ii. c. 7.* *Malmesbury Monastery, which had been*

been inhabited by monks for more than two hundred and seventy years, was made a stable for clerks."

The monks of Malmesbury were restored by Edgar, in 974; about sixteen years after the date of their deprivation.

p. 54. "See the grant of a mitre to the abbot of Malmesbury, in *Wilkins' Councils*. Vol. iii. p. 142, 143." *Tanner's Notit. Monast. Pref.*

p. 25. Note (e) Though the abbot of Malmesbury was one of the twenty-five fixed on for parliamentary abbots, by Edward III. according to the account already given, yet he had not a grant of episcopal ornaments and authority till the third year of the reign of Richard II. but he was before that time, exempt from the power of his diocesan; as appears from the above-noticed grant in *Wilkins' Councils*.

SECT. III. Many drawings and engravings of Malmesbury Abbey, have been executed at different times. In *Dugdale's Monasticon* there is a south-west view, already noticed in p. 46. Another south-west view was engraved by Buck, 1730. Dean Lyttleton, exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries, in 1754, very accurate drawings of several parts of Malmesbury Abbey; which belonged to Smart Letheullier, esq. There are extant two engravings of the remains of this monastery, by Hearne, an ingenious artist, who was born in the neighbourhood of Malmesbury. One of them contains a view of the western tower,

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and

and the other of the north side of the abbey.—Mr. J. Hanks of Malmesbury, some years since, made four large drawings exhibiting two near, and two distant views of this relic of antiquity; from which, engravings in aquatinta were executed, by F. Jukes, of Howland Street, London, in 1789.

SECT. IV. Some curious observations on Gothic architecture, have been published in a paper “on the Origin of the Greek Alphabet,” in the *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. xii. No. 81.

SECT. V. *St. Paul's Church*.* From the deed cited in p. 98, it appears that there was, so early as the latter part of the thirteenth century, a vicar of this church, who is stiled Walter, perpetual vicar of the church of St Paul; and that the abbot and convent here, were the patrons. In the Patent Rolls, 13th of Henry IV. (1412) there is the following memorandum, relating to the endowment of this vicarage. “Malmesbury Abbey for the payment of seven shillings there, to the vicar of the church of St. Paul, for lands in Brokenburge, Milbourn, Burton, and Malmesbury.” Hence it follows that this vicarage, like many others, was endowed with a salary issuing out of the property belonging to the convent.—See *Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton*, p. 24—26. The

* Wiltshire—Living discharged.

ST. PAUL'S.

Certified Value. { Vicarage in Malmesbury. } Yearly Tenths.
28l. 6s. 6d. { ol. 16s. 2½d.

Bateman's R. and Ecc. Gaz. p. 126.

account

account of pensions paid to incumbents, &c. of religious houses and chauntries, *an.* 1553; as the same were issued out of the crown revenues, from the receipts of the abbey-lands, contains this article: "To Thomas Washeborne, priest, (St. Paul's Church, Malmesbury)" was granted five pounds. *Willis' Hist. of Mitred Abbies. Vol. ii.*

SECT. VI. p. 149. The fee-farm of the abbey and convent of Malmesbury, twelve pounds was applied to the royal purveyance, 28th of Henry VI. *Rot. Parl. ejusd. anni.* This paragraph should have been inserted before that relating to the grant to W. Elton, esq; which was likewise made in the reign of Henry VI.

Sir Henry Knyvett, knt.—"Charlton Park, the seat of the Earl of Suffolk, is situated one mile north of Malmesbury, in the midst of a fine level lawn. The estate came into the family in the sixteenth century, by the marriage of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, with Elizabeth daughter and co-heiress to Sir Henry Knevit, of Charlton, and the house was built in the succeeding century, by the famous Inigo Jones." *Warner's Excursions from Bath, p. 175.* Mrs. Warneford, who died seized of the manor of Malmesbury, in 1631, was probably another of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir H. K.—Part of the abbey lands near Malmesbury, which had been the property of W. Stumpe, esq; and Sir H. Knyvett, belonged, in 1578, (20th of Eliz.) to Adam Archarde, clothier, of Malmesbury.

The

The Town Seal. "The seal of this corporation was engraved in 1615. It represents a castle with an embattled tower at each end, on the centre a tower domed, thereon a pennon; on each side of the castle three ears of wheat, on one stalk; in chief, on the dexter side a mullet of six points, and on the sinister an increscent; again, on the sinister side three balls, one near the dome of the upper tower, and the other two near the battlements of the sinister tower. The base of the escutcheon water."

"N. B. It is also painted as above, on a field gules, in the Town-Hall; but I believe, (says Mr. Edmondson,) it was never intended as an armorial ensign." *Edmondson's Heraldry. Vol. i. § Armorial Ensigns of Counties, Cities, &c. in Letter M.*

SECT. VII. *Clothing Trade.* Several small brass, or copper coins, struck by clothiers, and other tradesmen of Malmesbury, have come under our notice. They are commonly without date; but probably most of them were issued before the first legal copper coins were introduced into England, in 1609. (*See Tablet of Memory, p. 39.*) The existence of these tokens, shews that the trade of this town was considerable at an early period.

p. 161. Among the arts and trades exercised at Malmesbury in the seventeenth century, that of *distilling* must be included. In the year 1674, as we learn from a deed still extant, in the parish chest,

chest, a distiller carried on business in the parish of Westport. There is a barn situated near the presbyterian chapel, where the remains of flues are to be perceived; and this building is said to have been a distillery. Similar appearances may be observed in the stables belonging to the "Three Cups Inn;" which is supposed to have been used for the same purpose.

Ancient Fair. It may be conjectured that the privilege of having a fair kept near this town, was obtained for the inhabitants, by one of the abbots.—Among the advantages, (says Tanner,) that accrued to places where abbots had their sites and estates, was their getting from government grants of fairs for them. *Notit. Monast.* p. 33. See *Dr. Henry's Hist. of Gr. Br. V.* iv. p. 205. & *seq.* for some curious particulars relating to monastic fairs.

p. 166. The latter part of the paragraph concerning Sunday Schools, (drawn up by the editor) is erroneous. Several seminaries of this description, have at different times been established at Malmesbury, but they have been all dropped except one, which has now subsisted for some years. We have the pleasure to add that a new Sunday School has very lately been established, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Perry, Baptist Minister, of Malmesbury.

SECT. VIII. *Abbots of Malmesbury.* In the Harleian Library, M.S. 433, is a warrant to Sir Edmund Shaw, knight, directing him to restore
to

to the abbot and convent of Malmesbury, the remainder of their plate, left in his custody by Sir Thomas St. Leger, knight, to whom it had been pawned; and for which the same abbot had paid to the king a sum of money. *Catal. Wanley.* — *Aux. Coll. for Wiltsh. M. S.*

In *Reyner's* Appendix to his *Apostolatus Benedictinorum*, there are complaints of the frequent negligence of the abbots of Malmesbury, in omitting to send students to the university. p. 177.

Arms of the Abbots of Malmesbury. The seal of this abbey, appendant to a deed of Richard, the last abbot, in the augmentation office, was drawn and engraved, by J. Bailey 1767. *British Topography. Vol. ii. p. 379.*

SECT. IX. *Daniel Abbot of Malmesbury.* The passage in page 192, relative to the investiture of Daniel with the pontifical robes by Aldhelm, is mistranslated from William's *Life of Aldhelm*, owing to some obscurity in the manuscript copy of the original which was used. From the account given in p. 205, it will be perceived that Daniel and Aldhelm were both consecrated bishops at the same time, and that the former became abbot of Malmesbury on the death of the latter: the nocturnal vigils of Daniel, were therefore practised previous to his assuming the episcopal function, and not when he was made superior of the monastery.

APPENDIX.

* * *Several of the Notes intended for this Appendix, (viz. IV. VIII. IX. XVII. XVIII. XXII.* XXIII. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. and XXX.) containing abstracts and copies of Monastic and Municipal Charters, &c. are omitted for the reasons assigned in the ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC, and PREFACE.*

NOTE I.

THE Britons and Saxons frequently denominated their towns from the rivers on which they were situated.—The town of Cirencester, anciently called *Caer Ceri*, or *Cori*, received its name from the river *Ceri*, *Cori*, or *Corin*, now stiled *Churn*, on which it stands. *Leland's Itinerary*, Vol. ix. p. 32. The town of *Taunton*, formerly spelt *Thonton*, derived its name from the river *Thone*, or *Tone*. *Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton*, p. 1.

NOTE II.

As the name of this town has been written in a variety of ways, some of them widely differing from each other, it has been considered as a task not wholly useless to collect a list of the principal methods of writing the word *Malmesbury*; and to distinguish the respective writers by whom they have been used. It is stiled by *William of Malmesbury*, *Monasterium Malmesburiense*, *Maildulfesburch*, *Malmesburia* and *Maldelmesburh*; by *Hen. of Huntingd.* *Mealdune*, *Mamnesbirh*, and *Manbebirh*; by *Ingulph of Croyland*, *Maldelmesbiria* and *Maldelmesburgh*; in *Domesday-book*, *Mamesberie* and *Malmesberie*; and by *Leland*, *Malmesbyri*.

NOTE III. p. 28.

See "An Illustration of the N. T." V. i. p. 44.

NOTE

NOTE V. p. 38.

Cottonian Library.—Otho C. 1. A copy of the four Evangelists, in Saxon, ii. fol. 93. Inter Evangelias S. Lucae & Johannis habetur Privilegium Sergii Papæ, Saxonice, concessum Aldelmo, Abbati Meldunensi, successoribusque suis; & per eos venerabili eorum Monasterio de Ea; ut sint ab omni onere (seu vinculo) sæculari immunes, nulliusque alterius Jurisdictioni subjecti, &c. Quas quidem concessiones confirmasse dicuntur Ethelredus Rex Merciorum & Ina Rex West Saxonum, Teste eodum Aldelmo. G. Malmes. apud Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, Liber Alter. Per H. Wanley, p. 212.

NOTE VI. Id. pag.

See Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton, p. 6. Note ‡

NOTE VII. p. 39.

Soon after king Athelstan came to the crown, a conspiracy was entered into against him, by some of his courtiers; among the rest was Alfred, a nobleman who had lands in Wiltshire. The ultimate design of this apparently ill-concocted plot is rather obscure, but it is said the conspirators intended to have seized the person of the king, and after having deprived him of his eyes, to have confined him in prison, and perhaps to have placed his brother Edwy on the throne. Their machinations were discovered, but Alfred asserted his innocence, and went to Rome to prove it by oath, before the Pope. We are told that he approached the altar of St. Peter and took the oath, which he had no sooner done than he fell down before the altar. He was immediately taken by his servants to the English college, where he died three days afterwards. The Pope with the consent of Athelstan, ordered that he should be buried in consecrated ground. The circumstances which attended the death of Alfred, were considered as having sealed and confirmed his guilt, and his property was confiscated. The king, however, did
not

not retain it in his own hands, but gave it to the monastery of Malmesbury, as a thank-offering for his escape. *Extracted from the Grant of Athelstan to the abbot and convent of Malmesbury.*

NOTE X. p. 45.

Longitudo totius Ecclesiæ Monasterii Sancti Aldelmi de Malmesbury, cum Choro continet 172 Gressus meos; ac Latitudo ejus continet 42 Gressus.

Longitudo Capellæ beatae Meriæ in Orientem continet 36 Gressus.

Latitudo Capellæ ejusdem continet 9 Gressus.

*Longitudo claustrum ex omni parte continet quodlibet Claus-
trum $\frac{64}{62}$ Gressus.*

Latitudo Navis Ecclesiæ Principalis ultra Alas continet 22 Gressus.

Willis's Hist. of Mitred Abbies, vol. i. p. 322.

NOTE XI. p. 46.

Bells were commonly used in Europe during the tenth century. About the year 970, Egelric, abbot of Croyland, gave to that monastery six bells. Turketul, his predecessor, had given one before. Ingulph asserts that they altogether formed the finest set of bells in England. Historia, p. 505, edit Savil.

NOTE XII. p. 48.

Mr. Gilpin asserts that there were five hundred established monks belonging to the abbey of Glastonbury. Obs. on the Western Parts of Eng. p. 138. But this account is quite inconsistent with the information contained in the following extract from Reyner's Apostolatus Benedictinorum, p. i. p. 224. "Vitingus igitur cum Abbas esset, Monasterium integrum ac clausam 100 plus minus religiosorum habebat: ædibus vero separatis ac locis separatis pro Abbatum consuetudine ad 300 domesticos sustentabat atque in iis multos nobilium filios."—There were at Malmesbury, twenty-two monks, including the abbot to whom pensions were granted at the reformation. We are however informed by Mr. Fos-

brooke, (*British Monachism*, v. i. p. 153.) that to every ten monks there was a prior; now as there were three priors at Malmesbury, the regular number of monks must have been thirty, exclusive of the officers; and when the revenues of the abbey were in their most flourishing state, the monks were probably much more numerous.

NOTE XIII. p. 51.

The monks of La Trappe, seem to have excelled those of other religious orders in their endeavours to embitter the cup of human life. During the troubles that succeeded the French Revolution several of these monastic devotees emigrated to England. Mr. Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, provided them with a retreat in the neighbourhood of his seat. In the *Monthly Magazine*, vol. xx. No. 150. p. 112. there is a curious account, (too long for insertion,) of a visit to these solitary beings.

NOTE XIV. p. 54.

According to Fuller, in the forty-ninth year of Henry III. sixty-four abbots and thirty-six priors, were called to parliament. But Edward III. reduced the number to twenty-five abbots and two priors; to whom were afterwards added two abbots, so that there were twenty-nine parliamentary mitred barons in all; viz. the abbot of Tewkesbury, the prior of Coventry, the abbots of Waltham, Cirencester, St. John's at Colchester, Croyland, Shrewsbury, Selby, Bardney, St. Bennet's of Hulme, Thorney, Hide, Winchelcomb, Batel, Reading, St. Mary's York, Ramsey, Peterborough, St. Peter's Gloucester, Glastonbury, St. Edmund's Bury, St. Austin's Canterbury, St. Alban's, Westminster, Abingdon, Evesham, Malmesbury, Tavistock, and the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, who was stiled, "*Primus Angliæ Baro;*" but it was with respect to the lay barons only, for he was the last of the spiritual ones. Many have assigned the first place to the abbot of St. Alban's. *Tanner's Notit. Monast.* pref. p. 26.

NOTE *XIV. p. 82.

Vid. Sect. VIII. huj. lib.

NOTE XV. p. 62.

See Robertson's Hist. of Scotland. Vol. i. p. 95, and 96.

NOTE XVI. Id pag.

See Fosbrooke's Brit. Monachism. Vol. ii. p. 193, and 194.

NOTE XIX. p. 65.

The lofty spire, the downfall of which is recorded by Leland, was probably the same that was built by Bishop Herman; (vid. p. 75 and 174. huj. lib.) Perhaps the destruction of our ancient Gothic churches may have been, in many instances, owing to the general practice of decorating them with high towers and pinacles.

NOTE XX. p. 72.

See Dunsford's Historical Memoirs of Tiverton. P. v. p. 305. N. 106. and Hist. of Cirencester, p. 299.

NOTE XXI. p. 75.

Vid. Sect. viii. p. 174. huj. lib.

NOTE XXIII. p. 81.

See Moshcim's Ecclesiast. Hist. tr. by Dr. Maclaine, vol. . i p. 121.

NOTE XXIV. p. 101.

See King's Munimenta Antiqua; or Obs. on Ancient Castles, &c. vol. i. chap. i.

NOTE XXV. p. 107.

Copia Chartæ R. Athelstani concessæ *civibus* Malmesburæ, de libertatibus & privilegiis *istius civitatis*. M. S. Cott. Vitel. c. ix. § 15.—(Smith's Catal.)

NOTE XXIX. p. 125.

See Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, 11th edit. vol. iii. book iii. chap. 17th, p. 262—264.

NOTE XXXI. p. 127.

The mode of initiating a commoner into the privileges of a landholder may be considered as a relic of feudal polity.

The

The steward of the hundred goes with the person elected into the field containing the acre he is about to possess, and cuts a turf of grass, and a twig from the hedge. The person then drops two shillings into the hole made by cutting the turf. The steward sticks the twig in the turf and delivers it to him pronouncing the following lines.

*This turf and twig I give to thee,
As free as Athelstan gave to me,
And I hope a loving brother thou wilt be.*

The steward having taken the money out of the hole the new landholder replaces the turf. The money thus received by the steward, is spent by the corporation at King Athelstan's Feast, which is kept on the second Tuesday after Trinity Sunday—Besides the officers noticed in the charter, there are, a steward of the capital burgesses, a steward of the assistants, a steward of the landholders, and a steward of the commoners. These are annually elected on the first Tuesday after Trinity.

NOTE XXXII. p. 131.

See Monthly Review Enl. for Nov. 1797. p. 351.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 159.

"Simon Gawen, sometime vicar of this parish, but put out and expelled because a Nonconformist was buried 22d Jan. 1671."—Parish Register.

Mr. Gawen was Vicar of Malmesbury in 1629, as appears by the Register.

NOTE XXXV. p. 176.

See Andrews' Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 148.

FINIS.

ADDENDUM.

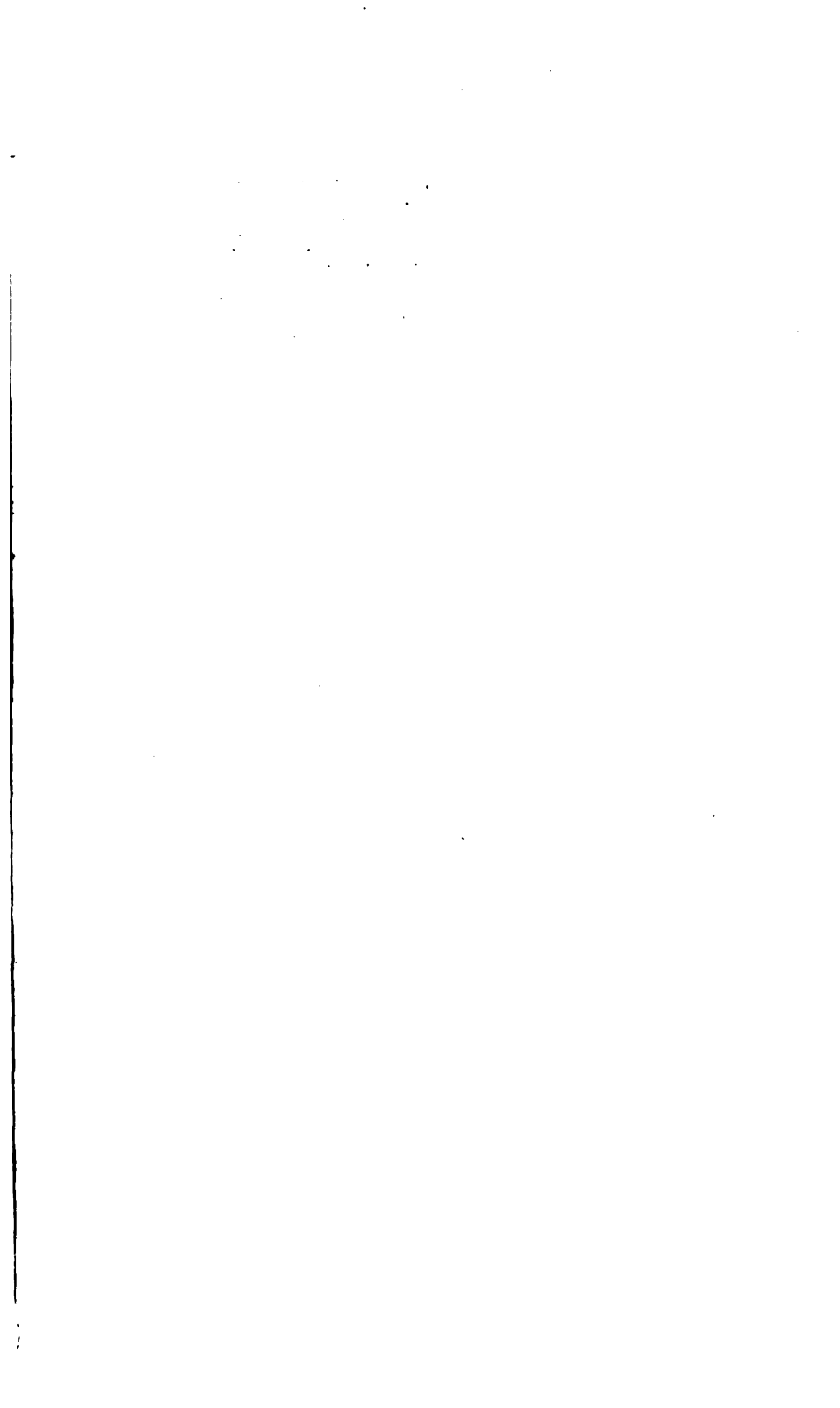
APPENDIX. NOTE XXXIII.

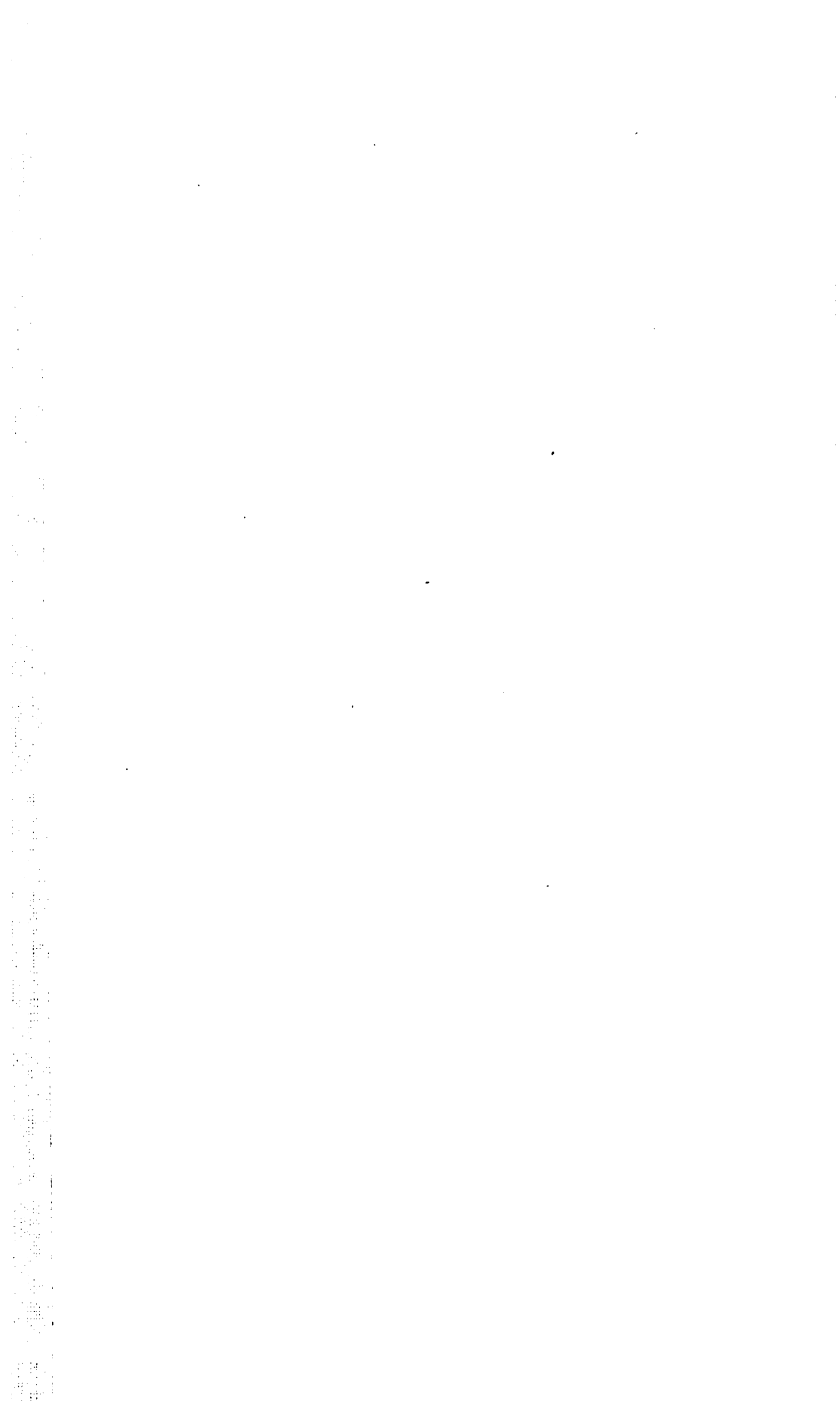
*A List of the Members of Parliament for the
Borough of Malmesbury.*

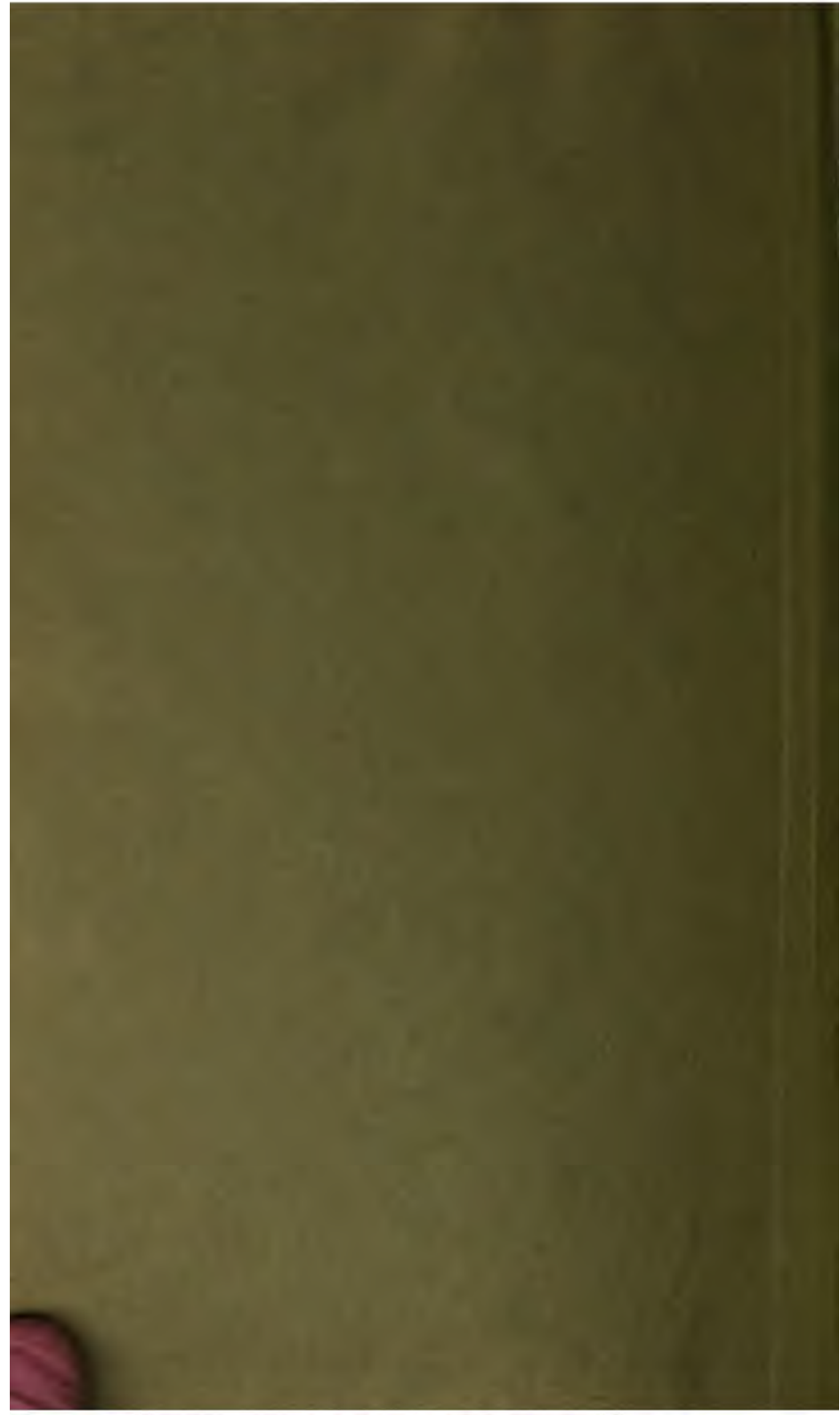
1741	Giles Erle, Esq.	W. Rawlinson Erle, Esq.
1747	John Lee, Esq.	James Douglas, Esq.
1751		Hon. Edward Digby.
1754	Rt. Hon. Lord G. Bentinck.	Brice Fisher, Esq.
1760	William Conolly, Esq.	
1761	Rt. Hon. Richard (Tylney) Earl Tylney, in Ireland.	Thomas Conolly, Esq.
1763	Rt. Hon. John (Child) Earl Tylney, in Ireland.	
1768	Rt. Hon. Arthur (Chiches- ter) Earl of Donegal, in Ireland.	Hon. Thomas Howard.
1774	Hon. C. J. Fox.	William Strahan, Esq.
1780	Hon. George (Legge) Vis- count Lewisham, son of the Earl of Dartmouth.	Hon. Arthur (Hill) Vis- count Fairford, son of the E. of Hillsborough.
1784	Rt. Hon. Peniston (Lamb) Viscount Melbourne, in Ireland.	Hon. James (Maitland) Viscount Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauder- dale.
1790	B. B. Hopkins, Esq.	Paul Benfield, Esq.
1791		Sir J. Saunderson, Knt.
1795	Francis Glanville, Esq.	
1796	Peter Isaac Thelluson, Esq.	— Smith, Esq.
1797		Philip Metcalfe, Esq.
1802	Claude Scott, Esq.	Samuel Scott, Esq.

ERRATA.

P. 43, l. 10, after *Infangtheoffe*, insert a comma. P. 45, l. 13, for *fourteen*, read *nine*. P. 51, l. 1, for *to*, read *in*. P. 59, l. 1, for *were* read *was*. P. 72, l. 29, for *death*, read *life*. P. 74, l. 28, for *eastern*, read *western*. P. 84, l. 5, after *additions*, insert a mark of interrogation. P. 88, l. 13, for . insert , P. id. l. 14, for , insert . P. 91, l. 17, read *those* by *whom*. P. 102, l. 12, for *moiety*, read *remnant*. P. 114, l. 23, read *as*. P. 130, l. 22, read *with*.— P. 136, l. 28, read *him*. P. 138, l. 12, read *James John Vassar*. P. 164, l. 27, 28, for *and two pounds per annum to be distributed in six-pences, left by Mr. Cullerne*, read *four pounds per annum, left by Mr. Wayte; and twenty pounds per annum, left by Mr. Cullerne*. P. 170, l. 14, for *Nor*, read *Or*. P. 192, l. 30, read *supererogation*. P. 202, l. 28, after *optimus*, insert *Saxonicus atque Latinus poëta facundissimus*. P. 223, l. 27, after *there*, insert *is*. P. 224, l. 12, read *Quindecim*. P. 245, l. 9, read *Maria*.







APR 14 1951



